Mr. AMELOT *de la* Houſſai's

HISTORY

OF THE

Spaniard's Conſpiracy

AGAINST THE

VENETIANS.

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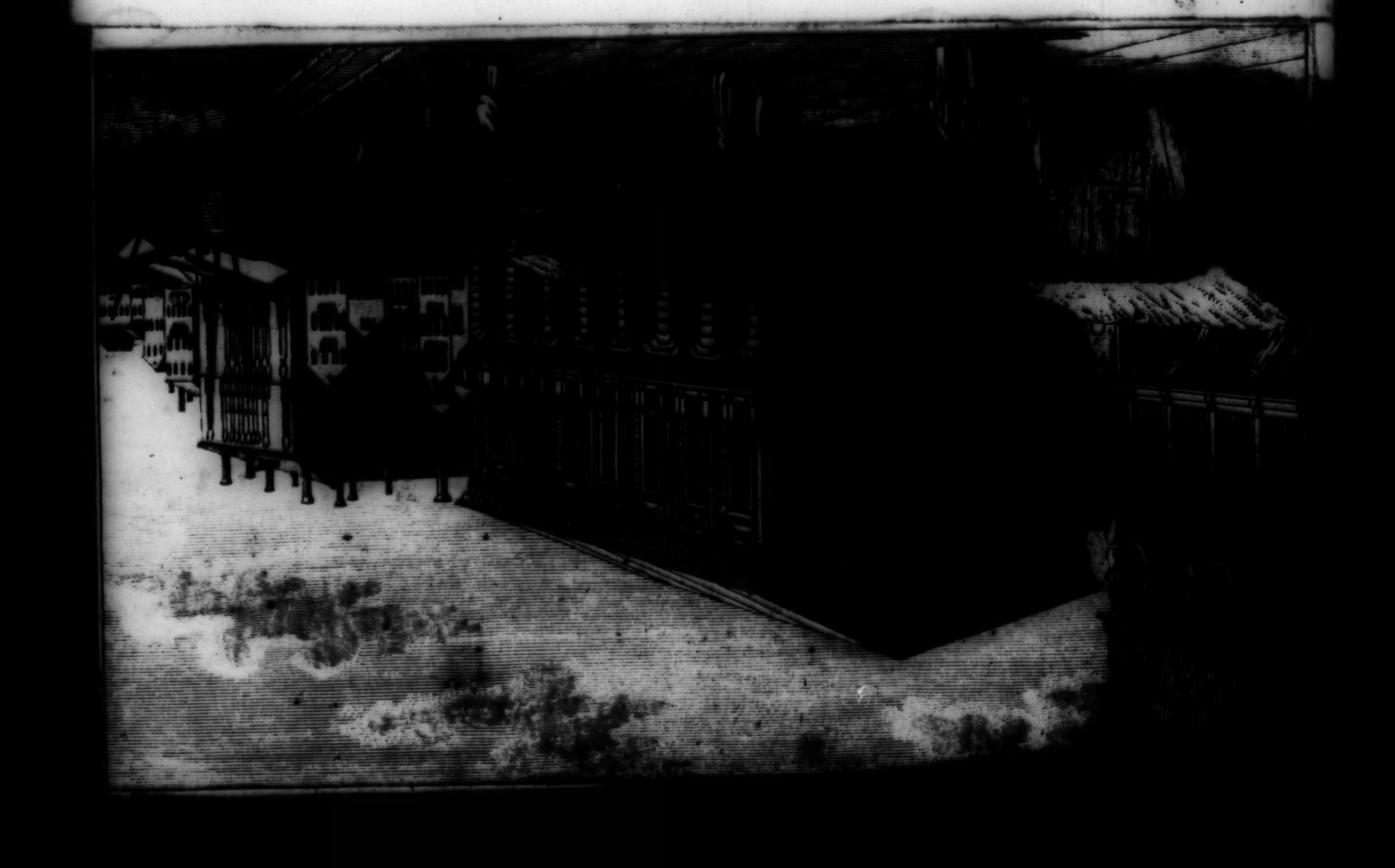
HISTORY



THE CONSPIRACY OF THE *SPANIARDS* AGAINST THE REPUBLICK OF VENICE.

By Monſieur AMELOT *de la* Houſſai. Vertot-

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THE PREFACE.

THE *Mind of Man is not capable of any Undertaking greater than that of forming Conſpiracies. Courage, Prudence, and Fidelity, which are equally required of every one who has any Share in them, are Qualities not very common in themſelves, but much more uncommon to be found united in the ſame Perſon. The*

Chiefs of a Conſpiracy oftentimes rely entirely upon the Affection they think their Friends have for them, as Men for the moſt part flatter themſelves that they are more belov'd than they are, eſpecially if they deſerve it, and have taken Pains to make themſelves ſo; but there is no Friendſhip that the Fear of Death may not deſtroy. This Affection, if it is violent, over-rules Judgment in all ſudden Adventures, and not being accompany'd with neceſſary Diſcretion, makes Men often propoſe Things beyond their Power. But when a Conſpirator has ſo much Judgment, that he has no Indiſcretion to fear on his Part, he never engages himſelf ſo ſtrongly by Affection as others do; and ſeeing at length the Danger he expoſes himſelf to, is put upon conſidering which are the beſt Ways to diſentangle himſelf, when he finds the Advantages to be drawn from the Enterprize are uncertain; but if he diſcovers it, the Recompenſe is ſure. On the other ſide, the Abilities of Men are moſt commonly founded on Experience, and we ſeldom reaſon well in the firſt Affairs that paſs thro' our Hands. The wiſeſt profit by

Errors

Errors they have committed, and draw Lights and Conſequences from them, to govern themſelves by for the future. But there is no Compariſon to be made, whether it be for the Danger or the Difficulty, between a Conſpiracy and any other Undertaking whatever; how much Experience ſoever a Man may have in other Things, there is nothing to be drawn from it for the Management of a Conſpiracy. For, not to commit any great Miſtakes, it is neceſſary for a Man to have been already concern'd in another; but it very rarely happens that the ſame Perſon is twice in his Life engag'd in Enterprizes of this nature. If the firſt ſucceeds, the Advantages he gains by it uſually puts him above the Neceſſity of expoſing himſelf to the like Hazard; if not, he periſhes in it; or ſhould he eſcape, it is not very probable he would run the ſame Riſque a ſecond time.

One may add farther to theſe Inconveniences, that whatever Hatred we have to Tyrants, Men always love themſelves more than they hate others; that it is not enough that the Conſpirators are all faithful, if every one is not perſuaded of his Companions being ſo too;

too; that the Chiefs muſt have as much Regard to the idle Fears and ridiculous Imaginations of their Friends, as to the moſt ſubſtantial Difficulties to be met with in the Enterprize, becauſe they are both equally capable of ruining it; that a Word ſaid, tho' upon another Subject, a Geſture made without any Deſign, may make them believe they are betray'd, and precipitate the Execution; that a Circumſtance of Time or Place, which is of it ſelf of no Importance, will ſometimes be ſufficient to terrify the Mind, for no other reaſon, but that it was not foreſeen; that it is the Nature of Men to be ſuſpicious at ſuch Times, and fancy their Secrets are diſcovered, from every thing that is ſaid or done before them, becauſe guilty Minds are apt to apply Things to themſelves, which perhaps no way concern them. If all theſe Difficulties are almoſt inſuperable in Conſpiracies, that aim only at the Death of a ſingle Perſon, what muſt they be in thoſe by which a great Number are to be attack'd at once, ſuch as tend to the Uſurpation of a City, or whole State, and which, for that reaſon, require much more

Time

Time and many more People to put in Execution?

Theſe Conſiderations have always made me look upon Enterprizes of this ſort as the moſt moral and inſtructive Parts of Hiſtory; and 'tis this which puts me upon giving the Publick an Account of the Conſpiracy of a Spaniſh *Ambaſſador againſt the Republick of* Venice. *I do not know if my Judgment may have been ſeduc'd by the Love I have for the Subject I am going to treat of, but I will confeſs ingenuouſly, it is my Opinion that there is none wherein the Effects of Prudence, and of Chance in the Affairs of the World, are better ſhewn, as well as the Extent of Human Wit, in its greateſt Force, and moſt ſecret Failings, the many Conſiderations that are neceſſary for the Government of Men, the Difference there is between Wiſdom and Cunning, Ability and Fineſſe: and if Malice is never more hateful than whenit abuſes what is moſt excellent, this Hiſtory will raiſe ſufficient Horror in the Reader, wherein he will ſee the greateſt Qualifications employ'd for the moſt*

deteſtable

deteſtable Ends: This occaſion'd a wiſe Greek *among the Ancients (ſeeing a Criminal maintain a Falſhood with wonderful Conſtancy in the midſt of Tortures) to cry out:* O the unhappy Wretch who makes uſe of the greateſt Virtue to ſo vile a Purpoſe!

THE

THE CONSPIRACY OF THE *SPANIARDS* AGAINST THE REPUBLICK OF VENICE.

THE Difference *(that happened in the beginning of the laſt Century)* between Pope *PAUL* V. and the Republick of *Venice*, having been terminated by *France* with all due Reſpect to the See of *Rome*, and that Glory the *Venetians* deſerved, there were only the *Spaniards* could give the Republick any Uneaſineſs;

ſineſs; as they had declared for the Pope, and offered to reduce the *Venetians* by Force, they were ſomewhat irritated to have a Treaty carried on without their Participation; but having ſearched into the Secret of the Accommodation, they found they had no reaſon to complain of the Pope, but that the Contempt ſhewn towards them in that Affair came from the ſide of *Venice*; it was the Senate that would have them excluded from the Mediation, pretending they could not be Arbiters, who had before-hand diſcovered ſo much Partiality. Whatever Reſentment they had of this Injury, no Marks of it appeared in the Life-time of *Henry* IV. the Obligations that Prince had to the *Venetians* were very well known, as well as the Care he took of their Intereſt in the Difference with the Court of *Rome*; but his Death having ſet the *Spaniards* at Liberty, they wanted only a Pretext for a Rupture. There was at this time a Company of Pirates called *Uſcoques*, who inhabited Part of the Land which the Houſe of *Auſtria* poſſeſſed upon the *Adriatick* Sea, contiguous to the *Venetians*; theſe Robbers, who had committed an infinite Number of Outrages on the Subjects of the Republick, were protected by the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand de Gratz*, Sovereign of the Country, and afterwards Emperor; he was a very religious Prince himſelf, but his

his Miniſters ſhar'd the Booty with the *Uſcoques*, and were entirely devoted to the Court of *Spain*, who was glad to take hold of this Occaſion to revenge it ſelf on the *Venetians*. The Emperor *Mathias*, touch'd with the juſt Complaint of the Republick, made up the Breach at *Vienna* in the Year 1612, but the Agreement was ſo ill obſerved by the Arch-Duke, that he was forc'd to come to an open War, in which he found not thoſe Advantages that the *Spaniards* had promiſed him. The *Venetians*, by their good Conduct, could eaſily repair the Loſſes they met with in ſome ſlight Battels, and as they had nothing to fear from the *Turk*, were the better able to ſupport a War with the Arch-Duke. This Prince was preſs'd hard by the Emperor to make Peace, becauſe the Grand Signior threatned *Hungary*, and he had occaſion to expend ſome large Sums to favour his Election, as King of *Bohemia*, which was done ſoon after. The *Spaniards* would very willingly have lent him Supplies to continue the War, but being engaged in one themſelves with *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, they could not ſeparate their Forces, and as that Duke received conſiderable Succours from the Republick in Money, they were never able to detach him from its Intereſts.

The Council of *Spain* was not at all pleaſed to find the *Venetians* every where at the Head of Affairs, and the ſoft and peaceable Tempers of King *Philip* III. and his Favourite the Duke of *Lerma*, did not ſuggeſt to them any Ways of getting out of this Embaraſment; but a Miniſter they had in *Italy*, who was not a Man of ſo much Indolence, undertook to do it; this was *Don Alphonſo de la Cueva*, Marquis *de Bedemar*, Ambaſſador in Ordinary to *Venice*, one of the greateſt Genius's and moſt dangerous Wits that *Spain* ever produc'd; it might be ſeen by the Writings he left behind him that he poſſeſſed all the Qualifications that are to be met with in ancient or modern Hiſtory towards the forming a great Man; he compared thoſe things he read of with thoſe that paſſed in his own Time, he obſerved with great Exactneſs their Differences and Reſemblances, and how much the Differences they had altered that in which they appeared alike; he gave his Judgment commonly on the Iſſue of an Undertaking as ſoon as he knew the Foundation and the Plan of it; if he ſaw in the end he had not judged aright, he would always trace his Error to the Source, and endeavour to find out what it was had deceived him; by this Study he perfectly well underſtood what were the certain Meaſures to be taken, and what the Cir-

Circumſtances that foretold Succeſs in great Enterprizes. His continual Practice of reading, meditating, and making Obſervations on the Tranſactions of the World, had raiſed him to ſuch a Degree of Wiſdom, that his Conjectures on the Events of Things were almoſt looked upon as Prophecies in the Council of *Spain*. To this profound Knowledge in the nature of great Affairs, were join'd moſt ſingular Talents for the Execution of them; a Facility in Speaking and Writing, that was agreeable beyond Expreſſion; a moſt wonderful Manner in making himſelf acquainted with Men; an Air always gay and open, in which there appeared more Fire than Gravity, and the greateſt Sincerity without any Kind of Diſſimulation; a Humour free and complaiſant, and ſo much the more impenetrable as Men thought themſelves able to ſee thro' it; a Behaviour ſo tenderly engaging and inſinuating, that he could at any time diſcover the Secrets of Hearts the moſt difficult to open; beſides which he had at all times the Appearance of having a Mind entirely ſatisfied tho' in the moſt cruel Agitations.

The Ambaſſadors of *Spain* undertook at that time to govern the Courts they were ſent to, and the Marquis *de Bedemar* was choſen for *Venice* in the Year 1607, as being more difficult than any other Foreign Employment,

ployment, and in which there is no Aſſiſtance to be had from Women, Monks, or Favourites. The Council of *Spain* was ſo well pleaſed with his Management, that whatever Occaſion there was for him elſewhere, it was not thought convenient to recall him, tho' he had been there Six Years; ſo long a Reſidence gave him ſufficient Time to ſtudy the Principles of this Government, to unravel its moſt ſecret Intrigues, and to diſcover its Strength and Weakneſs, its Advantages and Defects. As he ſaw the Arch-Duke would be obliged to make Peace, and that it could not but be diſgraceful to the *Spaniards*, becauſe the Wrong was on their ſide, he reſolved to undertake ſomething to prevent it; he conſider'd with himſelf, that in the Condition *Venice* was at that time, it might not be impoſſible for him to make himſelf Maſter of it, with the good Intelligence he had in it, and with the Forces he might have; the Armies had drain'd their Magazines of Arms, and of all People that were able to bear them, but as their Fleet had never been in better Condition, the Senate never thought themſelves ſo formidable, nor ever fear'd leſs; yet this invincible Fleet could not leave the ſide towards *Iſtria*, which was the Seat of the War; the Land Army was no nearer, and there was nothing at *Venice* to oppoſe a Naval Deſcent from *Spain*;

Spain; to make the Deſign of which more certain, he reſolved with himſelf to ſeize upon the principal Places, ſuch as the Arſenal, and the Place of St. *Mark*; and becauſe it could not be ſo eaſily done while the City was in perfect Tranquillity, he concluded it would be proper to ſet fire at the ſame time to ſeveral Places, the moſt ſuſceptible, and which were of the greateſt Importance to ſuccour. He would not write upon this immediately to the Court of *Spain*, becauſe he knew Princes ſeldom care to explain themſelves in Affairs of this Kind, till they are ſo far advanced that there is nothing wanting to put them in Execution, but an Aſſurance of their Approbation if they ſucceed; he only took notice to the Duke *d' Uſeda*, Principal Secretary of State, that ſeeing the Diſgrace the Houſe of *Auſtria* had received in the War of *Friuli* from the inſolent Behaviour of the *Venetians*, and that all Meaſures of Agreement that had been taken at *Vienna* and elſewhere were ignominious to the *Spaniards*, he thought himſelf obliged by Nature and Policy, and as a faithful Subject, to have recourſe to ſome extraordinary Methods to preſerve his Prince and Country from Infamy; that this touch'd him particularly, becauſe of the Employment he exerciſed, in which having always before his Eyes the Cauſes of the Evil that was to be remedied,

no

no Body could be able to judge better than himſelf what the Remedy ought to be, and that he would endeavour to acquit himſelf of this Duty in a manner that might be worthy the Zeal he had for the Grandeur of his Maſter. The Duke *d'Uſeda*, who knew the Marquis perfectly well, apprehended immediately that this Diſcourſe cover'd ſome Project equally important and dangerous; but as politick Men pretend not to underſtand Things of this ſort till they are fore'd to it, he did not communicate his Thoughts to the Prime Miniſter, but anſwered the Marquis *de Bedemar* in general Terms, praiſing his Zeal, and for the reſt left it to his accuſtomed Prudence. The Marquis, who expected no other, was not at all ſurprized to receive an Anſwer ſo cold; he thought of nothing but how to order his Deſigns in ſuch a manner that he might be ſure of having it approved.

There never was any Monarchy in the World ſo abſolute, as the Power with which the Senate of *Venice* govern'd the Republick, they made an infinite Diſtinction even in Trifles, between the Nobles and thoſe that were not ſo; there were none but theſe Nobles could Command in all the Countries that depended upon the State, and the greateſt Lords and Magiſtrates of thoſe Countries lived with them rather as their Sovereigns than

than their Governors. If at any time the Republick beſtowed the chief Poſts in their Armies on Strangers, it was always upon condition that they ſhould be obliged to follow the Sentiments of the *Venetian* Generaliſſimo, who left them nothing in effect but the Care of executing his Orders. As there is no Pretence to tax the People ſo plauſible as War, this, with the *Uſcoques*, gave the Nobles, who had the Management of it, a fine Opportunity of enriching themſelves. The *Venetians* were at a prodigious Expence, for beſides the Money ſent into *Piemont*, they were obliged to maintain almoſt a third Army in *Lombardy* againſt the Governor of *Milan*, who daily threatned to make ſome Diverſion in favour of the Arch-Duke. The Juſtice of the Cauſe of the Republick made the Commanders the bolder in inventing new Vexations, but the People not more patient in ſuffering them. Theſe things conſidered, the Marquis *de Bedemar* concluded, with a great deal of reaſon, that the Revolution he was thinking to bring about would be as agreeable to all People of lower Rank, as it would be fatal to the great ones. There were even among the great ones themſelves ſome who did not like the Government, theſe were the Partizans of *Rome*; ſome who were ambitious and revengeful, and who made up the greateſt Number, were diſpleaſed that

the Republick had been governed contrary to their Counſels in its Quarrel with that Court; they were diſpoſed to do or ſuffer any thing, to wreſt the Power out of the Hands of thoſe that had it, and would have look'd with Joy on the Misfortunes of the State, as the Fruits of that Conduct they had diſapproved; the others were Men of groſſer Intellects, who would be more Catholick than the Pope himſelf; as he had let go ſome of his Pretenſions in the Accommodation, they thought he was obliged to it only for ſome politick View; and if he had any mental Reſervation in that Affair, it was to be fear'd the Excommunication was ſtill in force, being the Intention of his Holineſs. Of this Number were ſome Senators, as poor in the Gifts of Fortune as in thoſe of Underſtanding, theſe contributed very much in the End towards the Deſign of the Marquis *de Bedemar*, when he had perſuaded them that a Man could not after this be a *Venetian* with a ſafe Conſcience. Whatever rigorous Injunctions were laid upon the Noblemen to have no Correſpondence with Strangers, he found means to make ſtrict Alliances with the moſt neceſſitous and the greateſt Malecontents. If they had any near Relations in the Convents, any Miſtreſſes, or any Friendſhips with Eccleſiaſticks, he bought the Acquaintance of theſe People, whatever

whatever it coſt him, and made them Preſents, not conſidering the Value, tho' moſt commonly they were ſome Curioſities from other Countries; theſe Liberalities, beſtow'd without any Obligation, made thoſe who received them believe they might be able to draw from him ſome more conſiderable; with this View they fully ſatisfied him in all things he had a mind to learn from them, and took care to inform themſelves of what they were not well enough acquainted with before, to anſwer his Demands; and his Acknowledgments always going beyond their Expectations, they had no Reſt till they could engage their Patrons in this Commerce. It can't be thought but that Neceſſity was the greateſt Inducement to it, and that theſe Noblemen could not ſee, without Envy, Perſons who were their entire Dependants, become richer than themſelves, by Preſents that were made them only for their Sakes; but be it as it will, its certain there were none of the Debates in Senate that were Secrets to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, he was advertiz'd of all the Reſolutions they came to, and the Generals of the Arch-Duke knew every one relating to the War before thoſe of the Republick had Orders to execute them.

Beſides this Intelligence, the Ambaſſador ſtood in need of a conſiderable Number of

Soldiers to ſucceed in his Enterprize; but as the *Spaniards* had a powerful Army in *Lombardy*, he did not deſpair of Men, provided there was a Governour in *Milan* fit to enter into his Deſigns. The Marquis *d' Inojoſa*, who was ſo then, was too much attach'd to the Duke of *Savoy* to liſten to it, he had but juſt ſign'd the Treaty of *Aouſte*, in which *France* and *Venice* had been Mediators between that Prince and him. The Ambaſſador, who knew that that Negociation was not approved of in *Spain*, wrote to have him re-call'd, and deſired at the ſame time *Don Pedro de Toledo*, Marquis *de Villa Franca*, his intimate Friend, to uſe his Intereſt to ſucceed him. *Don Pedro* had Orders immediately to ſet out for *Milan*, and take the Place of the Marquis *d' Inojoſa* at the End of the Year 1615, and was no ſooner arrived there, but he ſent Advice of it to *Venice* by the Marquis *de Lara*. The Ambaſſador communicated his Project to this Marquis in ſuch a manner as he thought would be moſt likely to make him agree to it, and deſired him particularly to learn if the new Governor could ſend him 1500 Men of his beſt Troops when Occaſion ſhould ſerve. *Don Pedro*, charm'd with the Greatneſs of the Enterprize, reſolved to back it as much as he was able, without expoſing himſelf to certain Ruin if it fail'd. He diſpatch'd the Marquis

Marquis *de Lara* a ſecond time to *Venice*, to aſſure the Ambaſſador of it, but begg'd him at the ſame time to conſider, that he had no Proſpect of ſending ſuch a Number of Men, without picking out all the beſt of his Army, and that if they ſhould happen to periſh, he ſhould be inexcuſable for expoſing the braveſt Soldiers he had to ſo great Danger, but nevertheleſs he would ſend as many as he could, and chuſe them ſo well, that he would anſwer for them as for himſelf.

Nothing was of more Importance to the Deſign of the Ambaſſador than to hinder all ſorts of Accommodation, he therefore obliged the Marquis *de Lara* to make very unreaſonable Propoſitions of Peace to the Senate on the Part of the Governor of *Milan*; the Senate, as they had foreſeen, anſwered with a great deal of Indignation, and would not enter into any Negociation with them. *Don Pedro* forgot nothing on his ſide to aggravate Matters. The Duke of *Mantua* was not much diſpoſed to pardon his Rebel Subjects, as he had promiſed by the Treaty of *Aouſte*, and they encourag'd him to be obſtinate upon that Article, and to continue the Executions he had begun againſt them. Such Propoſals were made to the Duke of *Savoy* for the accompliſhing this Treaty that they knew he would not accept, and they excuſed themſelves for not disbanding their Men,

as

as they ought to have done after him, upon Pretence of the War of *Friuli*, in which the *Spaniards* could no longer in Honour diſpenſe with not taking part. The *Venetian* Army had paſſed the *Lizonzo*, and beſieged *Gradiſca*, the Capital of the Arch-Duke's Territories. *Spain*, that till then had appeared neuter, ſeeing they would deſpoil that Prince, threatned to declare it ſelf. At this time an End was put to the Miſunderſtanding that had been in the Houſe of *Auſtria* between the Branch of *Spain* and that of *Germany*, ſince the Diſpute of the Son and Brother of *Charles* V. for the Succeſſion of the Empire; the Intereſt the *Spaniards* took in this War was the firſt Mark of the Reconciliation. *Don Pedro* ordered Colonel *Gambalotta* to advance towards *Crema* with his Troops, and cauſed 80 Pieces of Cannon to be mounted at *Pavia*, which, as he gave out, ſhould very ſhortly accompany a Body of 8000 Men commanded by *Don Sancho de Luna*. On the other ſide the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, who cruized in the *Mediterranean* with the *Spaniſh* Fleet, threatned to attack the Duke of *Savoy* by *Villa Franca*; he ſhut up the Paſſage from all Succour that came by Sea to the Republick, and kept himſelf always in readineſs to enter the Gulph, to keep a Check upon the *Venetian* Fleet. The Miniſters of *Venice* having

ving declaimed in all Courts againſt the Violence of this Proceeding, the Marquis *de Bedemar* undertook to juſtify it; he thought it would be very uſeful to his Deſign if he could deſtroy that Veneration which all *Europe* had had for ſo many Ages for this Republick, as the moſt ancient and moſt free of all Governments; this Freedom had been lately proved, and raiſed higher than ever on the Account of their Difference with the Pope, by many Writings, which had hitherto paſſed for unanſwerable, altho' the contrary Party had ſome able Men, who had wrote againſt them; the Ambaſſador ſetting himſelf to examine them anew, refuted in a few Chapters the numerous Volumes of the *Venetian* Authors, without doing ſo much Honour to any one as to name him; and as there are no Queſtions in Matters of this nature that an able Man cannot render problematical, upon Pretence of eſtabliſhing the Right of the Emperors over *Venice*, he ſhewed that the Independency of this Republick was but a Chimera, as well as their Empire over the Sea. Since it was not neceſſary to his End that he ſhould own himſelf the Author of that Libel, he had it publiſhed ſo dexterouſly, that no one knew, during his Life, that he had any hand in it; his ſharp and cholerick Humour, which was the only one he

he let appear, would not allow any Body to think he could be the Author of a Satyr of State, in which there was the greateſt Refinement and Delicateneſs; Juſtice and Sincerity ſeemed to reign thro' the whole, and the Invectives againſt the Attempts of the *Venetians*, that were interſperſed, were couched under ſuch Terms of Moderation, as were ſufficient to make them appear very plauſible. This Work, which had for its Title, *Squittinio della Liberta Veneta*, made very much Noiſe; in the Ignorance they were of the Author, it was natural to ſuſpect it came from the Court of *Rome*, becauſe of the Writings that had been from thence before; the learned Men among the Senators believed that all the World would feel the Force of it, as they did; they were more ſtartled at it than they would have been at the Loſs of a Battel, and *Fra-Paolo* had Orders to examine it; this Man, who had but played with the reſt of the Writings of the other Party, declared he could not anſwer this laſt, becauſe it was not to be done without clearing up ſome Things, which it was more proper ſhould ſleep in the Darkneſs of Antiquity; but nevertheleſs if the Senate thought it was for the Honour of the Republick to reſent this Outrage, he would take upon him to put the Court of *Rome* to ſo much Trouble to defend it ſelf, that

that it ſhould never think of attacking them more; this Project, which was put in execution in the Heat of Reſentment, gave *Fra-Paolo* the Pleaſure of publiſhing his beloved Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, which otherwiſe had not appeared in his Lifetime.

Mean while the Campaign in the Year 1616 paſſing without any conſiderable Advantage on either ſide, the Duke of *Savoy* and the *Venetians*, who would not hazard the Glory they had already got, gave Power to *Gritti*, the Ambaſſador of *Venice* at *Madrid*, to renew the Negociation; the *Spaniards*, diſpleaſed at the Reſiſtance they had found, made Propoſals ſo unreaſonable, that they came to nothing; *Gradiſca* remained block'd up, they continued to batter it during the Winter, and the Armies took the Field in the Spring with ſo much Reſolution, that it promiſed more Succeſs to one ſide or other than they had had the Year before. The Truce of *Holland* having made the greateſt Part of their Troops uſeleſs, and reduced the *French* and *German* Mercenaries to ſeek Employment elſewhere, the Counts *Naſſau* and *Lieveſtein* brought 8000 *Dutch* and *Walloon* Men into the Service of the Republick. The *Spaniards* made great Complaints to the Pope, that the *Venetians* expoſed *Italy* to the Infection of Hereſy, by

maintaining a Commerce with theſe People, but the *Venetian* Ambaſſador ſoon made him underſtand, that it was not ſo much the Intereſt of Religion that cauſed the *Spaniards* to complain, as ſeeing two great Republicks joining their Forces together againſt them. The Marquis *de Bedemar* had not carried on his Deſign ſo well if the Pope had obliged the *Venetians* to diſband theſe Hereticks; for as moſt Soldiers have only their Profit in view when they ſerve a ſtrange Prince, he did not deſpair of engaging the chief of theſe mercenary Troops in his Deſign for ſome Money, and the hopes of pillaging *Venice*; for negotiating this Affair he caſt his Eyes upon an Old *French* Gentleman nam'd *Nicholas Renault*, a Man of Learning and Capacity, who was a Refugee at *Venice* upon ſome Account that could never be found out; the Marquis *de Bedemar* had ſeen him often at the *French* Ambaſſador's, where he liv'd; in the Converſations they had accidentally together, *Renault* found the Marquis to be the great Man the World reported him, and the Marquis, who was glad to have a Friend of his Character at the Ambaſſador's, had made a ſtrict Friendſhip with him; altho' this Man was extreamly poor, yet he eſteemed Virtue more than Riches, but he loved Renown more than Virtue,

and

and for want of innocent Means to purchaſe this Renown, there was nothing ſo criminal that he would not undertake; he had learn'd from the Writings of the Ancients that Indifference for Life or Death, which is the firſt Foundation of all extraordinary Actions, and look'd back daily with Regret upon thoſe celebrated Times, when the Merits of particular Perſons decided the Fate of Nations, and when all thoſe who had it never wanted Opportunities to make it appear. The Marquis *de Bedemar*, who had ſtudied him to the bottom, and had occaſion for a Man to whom he might entirely truſt the Conduct of his Enterprize, told him of it, declaring that his Eyes were upon him from the very firſt time he had any Thoughts of it; *Renault* took himſelf to be more obliged to the Marquis for this Confidence he had in him, than if he had beſtow'd upon him all the Praiſes imaginable; he made no Excuſe to diſengage himſelf on Account of his Age, which was pretty far advanced, the leſs Time he had to live ſo much the leſs he had to loſe, and he believed he could not better employ the Remnant of a few ſorrowful Years, than by hazarding it to make his Name immortal. The Marquis *de Bedemar* gave him neceſſary Letters of Exchange and Credentials, to negociate with the Chief of the

Dutch; he charged him not to explain the Enterprize to them at firſt, but only to let them underſtand that Affairs being carried to ſuch a height between the Republick and the Houſe of *AUSTRIA*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Venice* foreſaw ſome Conjuncture when his Perſon might be expoſed to the Fury of the People of that City, and therefore for his own Safety was willing to ſecure himſelf a conſiderable Number of faithful and reſolute Friends; the Pretence was groſs enough, but the leaſt Veil is of uſe in Things of this Kind; for what ſignifies it to know there is a Myſtery in an Affair if one is not able to penetrate it? This was the way which he hoped to debauch the choiceſt Men of the *Venetian* Land Army, and for the reſt he thought it would be eaſy for *Don Pedro* to cut them off in their Way, if they ſhould endeavour to come to *Venice* to oppoſe the Conſpirators; that of the Sea was the moſt to be feared, it would be too uncertain to depend upon the *Spaniſh* Fleet's defeating them, and not Prudence to truſt the Succeſs of the Enterprize to a Battel, which was elſewhere but too hazardous, the beſt way was to find ſome Means to put this Fleet out of the Condition of ſerving them. The Ambaſſador had not ſo much Experience in Sea Affairs as the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, who Commanded the Naval Force

Force of *Spain*, he therefore thought it would be adviſeable to conſult him upon this Subject; this Vice-Roy, who was to be a principal Actor in the Tragedy the Ambaſſador was preparing, was the Duke *d' Oſſuna*, ſo famous for his Gallantries, a Man as enterprizing as *Don Pedro*, and the Marquis *de Bedemar*; the reſemblance of Humours that was between them eſtabliſh'd a very good Underſtanding among theſe three Miniſters. *Don Pedro* and the Duke *d' Oſſuna* were not very great Men in the Cabinet, and the Duke had now and then ſome very extravagant Whimſies, but the Deference that both of them paid to the Marquis *de Bedemar* ſerved them inſtead of that Ability they had not.

The great Advantage there is by Piracy, to thoſe who exerciſe it under ſome powerful Protection, had drawn to the Vice-Roy's Court all the renowned Pirates upon the *Mediterranean*; this Vice-Roy, who was ever full of ſome great Deſigns, and rather prodigal than covetous, did not protect them ſo much for the Share he had of their Booty, as for the ſake of always having a conſiderable Number of Men near him, ready to undertake any thing he would have them; he would not only receive them, but if he knew any one of Merit above the common ſort, he would ſeek after and do him ſuch

ſuch Favours, that he infallibly drew him to his ſide; he had done thus by one nam'd Captain *James Pierre*, a *Norman* by Birth, and ſo excellent in his Trade, that all the reſt thought it an Honour to have learn'd theirs from him; the Mind of this Man retained nothing of the Barbarity of this Kind of Life, but having got wherewithal to live honeſtly he reſolved to quit it, although he was yet in the Flower of his Age, and he had choſen the Territories of the Duke of *Savoy* for his Retreat. This Prince, who was fond of all extraordinary Talents, and who underſtood the Value of them the better, ſince Nature had beſtowed on him ſo liberal a Share, knowing by Report this Pirate to be one of the braveſt Men in the World, gave him Leave to ſettle at *Nizza*; all Seamen, whether Officers or Sailors, that frequented this Coaſt, went regularly to pay their Court to the Captain, his Advice ſerved them as an Oracle on all Occaſions, he was the Sovereign Arbiter of their Differences, and they could not but admire a Man who had left off a Profeſſion in which he was ſo well skilled, and which is of all others the moſt difficult to abandon.

Among the reſt of the Pirates was one *Vincent Robert* of *Marſeilles*, who having landed in *Sicily* when Duke *d'Oſſuna* was Vice-Roy there, was ſo kindly treated by him, that

that he had betaken himſelf to his Service; the Duke knowing that *Robert* had been a Comrade of the Captain's, complained to him in a familiar way, that his Friend had preferred the Territories of the Duke of *Savoy* to his Government to chuſe a Retreat in; he accompanied this Complaint with moſt extraordinary Teſtimonies of the Eſteem he had for the Captain's Courage, and his Experience in Affairs relating to the Sea, and aſſured him he would ſpare nothing to draw to his Court a Man of ſuch ſingular Merit. *Robert* undertook with Joy to negociate this Buſineſs, and it was ſupported by ſuch Advances from the Vice-Roy, that the Captain could not but do as the Duke deſired, and ſo went and ſettled with his Wife and Children in *Sicily*. As he had not yet loſt Sight of the Sea, he was not perfectly cur'd of the Love he had for it; the Vice-Roy had made ſome very fine Galeons not long before, and the Caravans of the *Turks* being on their Way Home with a very ſlender Convoy, it was ſo great a Temptation to the Captain, that he could not reſiſt it; he had no Cauſe to repent what he did, for he got an incredible Booty, and the Duke *d' Oſſuna* (who us'd him then with the ſame Familiarity and Kindneſs as if he had been his own Brother) left him the beſt Part of it, upon Condition he would

follow

follow him to *Naples*, where the King's Orders call'd him to Command, and that he would make a Voyage to *Provence*, to draw over the beſt Seamen he knew on that Coaſt; the Captain brought away enough to fit out Five great Veſſels which belong'd to the Vice-Roy, and over which he had an abſolute Authority; with this little Fleet he pillaged with Impunity all the Iſlands and Coaſts of the *Levant*, and ended his firſt Campaign with a great Battel, in which he took and ſunk the whole Squadron of *Turkiſh* Gallies; it was at this time the Marquis *de Bedemar* communicated his Deſign to the Duke, aſſured he would not make many Scruples of embarking in it. This Duke, who deſired the ſole Empire of theſe Seas, wiſhed for nothing more earneſtly than to ruin the *Venetians*, who were the only People able to diſpute it with him, and who were not ſo eaſily beat as the *Turks*; he opened the Buſineſs to the Captain, and told him the Difficulties of it, the Captain thought them not inſuperable, and after many Days ſecret Conference he went from *Naples* in a Hurry, and in an Equipage that ſhewed great Fear and Diſorder; the Vice-Roy ſent out Men to every Road, but that he knew he had taken, with Orders to bring him back dead or alive, his Wife and Children were impriſon'd, and kept for ſome Days

Days in a very barbarous manner to all Appearance, all his Goods were confiſcated, and the Duke's Anger was ſo furious, that every Body was ſurpriz'd at it; the Captain ſeeming as much mov'd as the Vice-Roy, People eaſily gave Credit to their Miſunderſtanding, and believ'd that he had acted ſomething againſt *Spain*, or the private Intereſts and Deſigns of the Duke; he fled in the mean while to his firſt Azylum; the Duke of *Savoy* was in open War with *Spain*, and he was known to be one of the moſt generous Princes in the World, tho' he had ſhewn ſome Diſpleaſure when the Captain left his Dominions to go to *Sicily*; the Cheat without Heſitation flung himſelf at his Feet, and told him many falſe Deſigns of the Vice-Roy againſt the Republick of *Venice*, horrible to think of! but ſuch as had no manner of reſemblance to the true ones, he ſaid he could not think of engaging in them with Honour, and was therefore taking Meaſures to ſave his Family and Eſtate at *Naples*, when the Vice-Roy diſcover'd his Intentions, which oblig'd him to fly from his Fury, and leave every thing that was dear to him in the World to the Mercy of the crueleſt of Men. The Duke of *Savoy* was touch'd with Pity at this ſorrowful Recital, and received him with open Arms; he told him that his Intereſts

being ſo ſtraitly attach'd to thoſe of the Republick, he ſhould think himſelf oblig'd to acknowledge the Service he had done the common Cauſe, if the *Venetians* did not; he added, that it would be neceſſary that the Senate were inform'd from his own Mouth of the Deſigns of the Duke *d' Oſſuna*; and after having exhorted him to ſupport his Charge like a Man of Courage, equipping him with all Things, and making him magnificent Preſents, he ſent him to *Venice* with Letters of Credit and Recommendation. The *Venetians* were no leſs compaſſionate than the Duke of *Savoy*; the Flight, the Fears, the Poverty, the Deſpair, the Capacity, the Exploits, and the Reputation of the Captain, the hopes they had of drawing to their ſide that Number of brave Men that he had brought into the Service of the Duke *d' Oſſuna*, and above all the Deſigns of that Duke, which he related to them, and were invented as much with the Appearance of Truth as was neceſſary, altogether ſpoke ſo powerfully in his Favour, that they immediately gave him the Command of a Veſſel. *Contarini*, their Ambaſſador at *Rome*, remonſtrated to them by his Letters, that this Man coming from the Vice-Roy, ought not to be too much truſted; but the Fear that he had raiſed in the Minds of the *Venetians*, and the

the Credulity that uſually follows ſuch Fear, made them regardleſs of this prudent Advice. A little while after the Fleet being out at Sea, the Captain knowing of what Importance it was to ſignalize himſelf in their Service, took ſome Prizes from the *Uſcoques* ſo conſiderable, that at his Return they added Eleven more Ships to that he had already. He gave a full Account of this Succeſs to the Duke *d' Oſſuna*, and ended his Diſpatch in theſe Words: " *If theſe* " † *Pantaloons are always ſo eaſy of Belief* " *as they have been hitherto, I dare aſſure* " *your Excellency that I ſhall not loſe my Time* " *in this Country.* He wrote at the ſame time to all his Comrades that he had left at *Naples*, to draw them into the Service of the Republick; it was not very hard to do, for ſince his Flight the Vice-Roy feigning to ſuſpect them, treated them as ill as he had done well before; he made great Complaints of the Protection the Republick gave the Captain, and to revenge himſelf, drew to him all thoſe *Uſcoques* which the *Venetian* Arms had driven from their Azylums; under his Protection they put again to Sea, and took a great Veſſel that came from *Corfu* to *Venice*, ſelling the Booty pub-

† *or* Buffoons.

lickly under his Standard; he violated the Freedom of the Ports, made conſiderable Reprizals upon very ſlight Occaſions, refuſed to obey the Orders that came to him from *Spain*, to reſtore what he had ſeized, and publiſhed a Manifeſto, to give Reaſons for his Diſobedience; he ſent a great Fleet to cruize in the *Adriatick*, brought the Prizes he had taken from the *Venetians* in Triumph to *Naples*, ruin'd, in ſhort, their Commerce, to the great Detriment of the *Neapolitans*; and when the Farmers of the Revenues were about to complain of it, threatned to have them hang'd. As there had been no War declar'd between *Spain* and the Republick, the *Venetians* could not but be aſtoniſh'd at ſo irregular a Conduct; moſt People imputed it alone to the Extravagance of the Duke *d'Oſſuna*, but the wiſer ſort, who knew that nothing is more uſeful than ſuch Kind of mad Men when they are rightly employ'd, believ'd the *Spaniards* made uſe of the Caprices of that Duke to carry on ſuch Deſigns as they would neither own nor ſtand by; his common Diſcourſe was of ſurprizing the Ports of *Iſtria* that belong'd to the Republick, of pillaging the Iſlands, and to make, if he could, ſome Deſcent upon *Venice* it ſelf; he conſulted the Plan of it with his Courtiers, had exact Charts made of the Sea about it, built

built Barks, Brigantines, and other ſmaller Veſſels, fit for any Canal. The Reſident of *Venice* who was at *Naples* gave an exact Account of this, to the great Uneaſineſs of the Marquis *de Bedemar*, who began to repent he was concern'd with a Man of ſuch a giddy Temper; but the Succeſs deceiv'd his Fears, for the Vice-Roy's acting in this extravagant manner made the *Venetians* only laugh, even the moſt diſcerning among them could not think there was any thing ſolid hid under ſuch open Demonſtrations of Folly; the Duke continu'd his Preparations as he had a mind, without giving the leaſt Jealouſy to the Republick, and his Indiſcretion, which might have ruin'd the Enterprize, as it happen'd advanc'd it much more than all the Circumſpection of the Marquis *de Bedemar*; nevertheleſs the MARQUIS thought it proper to haſten the Execution of it, becauſe the *Venetians* might not have Time to reflect, and becauſe of the Danger his own Perſon was daily expos'd to. The *Venetian* Fleet having once profer'd to fight that of *Spain*, which declin'd it, the Mob of *Venice* had conceiv'd ſo inſolent a Joy, that the Ambaſſador and all his Houſe had been infallibly maſſacred, if Guards had not been ſent him. He receiv'd, not long after the other, News from the Camp before *Gradiſca* that was ſome Conſolation for this Acci-

Accident; *Renault* ſent him word that he had found the Inclinations of the Mercenaries ſo well diſpos'd, that his Negociations were concluded in a very ſhort Time; the Ambaſſador order'd him to go to *Milan* before his Return, where *Don Pedro* receiv'd him with all the Careſſes which are uſual from great Men, who blind the Eyes of thoſe that hazard all for their Service; they agreed together that it was neceſſary to have ſome Town upon the *Terra Firma* belonging to the *Venetians*, that they might ſeize at the ſame time with *Venice*, to ſerve as a Curb upon the others, for a Place of Defence to the *Spaniſh* Army, and a Barrier againſt that of *Venice*, if it ſhould offer, to ſend Succours thither. *Renault* having paſſed thro' the principal Places, came at laſt to *Crema*, to form a Faction there, by the help of a *French* Lieutenant call'd *John Bernard*, an *Italian* Captain, and another, whom *Don Pedro* had already gain'd over, theſe three Men offer'd to conceal 500 *Spaniards* in the Town, without giving any Suſpicion to the *Venetian* Commander, and to ſeize upon it in Eight Days after; upon the Enquiry *Renault* made into it on the Spot, he thought it might eaſily be done with that Number of Men, it was only cutting the Throats of a miſerable Garriſon that was drawn from the Militia of the Country,

becauſe all the regular Troops of the Republick were in the Parts of *Friuli* and the Armies. The Duke *d' Oſſuna* had alſo agreed with the Marquis *de Bedemar*, that it was neceſſary to make ſure of ſome Place belonging to the *Venetians* upon the Gulph, to give Aſſiſtance to the Arch-Duke and the *Uſcoques*, and to ſerve for a Retreat for the *Spaniſh* Fleet, if by any Accident it ſhould be oblig'd to ſeek Shelter in that Sea when it had been engag'd; they choſe for this Purpoſe *Marau*, a ſtrong Place in an Iſland bordering upon *Iſtria*, which had a Port capable of receiving a large Fleet; an *Italian* nam'd *Mazza*, who had been Serjeant-Major in it for 40 Years, and had almoſt as much Authority there as the Governor, promis'd an Emiſſary of the Duke *d' Oſſuna*'s for a conſiderable Sum of Money, and the Aſſurance of a Command, to kill the Governor upon the firſt Notice, and make himſelf Maſter of the Place, to keep in the Name of the *Spaniards*; he was as ready to execute this Promiſe as make it. The Governor, who was the Proveditore *Lorenzo Thiepolo*, lived with him in great Familiarity, and becauſe his Place of Proveditore gave him much Employment upon the Frontiers in Time of War, he entirely rely'd upon the Serjeant-Major for what related to the Affairs within the Town, as being

being the moſt ancient and moſt capable Officer of the Garriſon. Things being in this Poſture, the Ambaſſador thought it was time to put the laſt Hand to his Work, not but that he might by waiting have added ſome other Advantages to the Meaſures already taken, yet he knew very well that Delays in Deſigns of this nature are dangerous; it was impoſſible that the different Means that were to make this Undertaking ſucceſsful, ſhould be all at one time in a condition of ſerving it, the Face of one is changed while others are preparing, and if one is once ſo happy to be able to join together a ſufficient Number, it is a capital Crime to let ſlip that critical Conjuncture. It was of great Importance to the Honour of the Crown of *Spain* that its Ambaſſador ſhould not be found to have any Share in this Enterprize if he ſhould fail in it, he reſolv'd therefore not to diſcover himſelf to any of the Conſpirators beſides *Renault* and *Pierre*, theſe two Men were not acquainted with each other, they came not to the Ambaſſador's but when he ſent for them, and he always obſerv'd to appoint their coming at different Times, that they might not meet; he thought at firſt that keeping them thus at a diſtance would be more ſerviceable to his Deſigns than any Friendſhip they could have together; but having conſider'd of it more

more deliberately, he believ'd it would be impoſſible for them to act ſeperately with any Succeſs, and therefore reſolv'd to eſtabliſh a firm Alliance between them; they were both of them Men of Courage and Conduct, *Renault* piqu'd himſelf chiefly upon his Judgment, and was for diſpoſing things in ſuch a manner that the Execution ſhould be eaſy, and the Succeſs infallible; the Captain on the contrary, who was not ſo far advanc'd in Years, was of an enterprizing Nature, and a Man of extraordinary Reſolution, to him the Marquis related the ſeveral Negociations that *Renault* had manag'd, told him of his Knowledge, which could find out Expedients on all Occaſions, of his Eloquence and Cunning in gaining new Proſelytes, of his Talent in Writing, which was ſo neceſſary in an Affair where there was occaſion to be continually inform'd of the Conditions of Fleets and Armies, he ſaid he thought ſuch a Man would be a great Comfort to him, that he was an Old Man of vaſt Experience, who wanted neither Valour nor Perſeverance, but that his Age, and Profeſſion of a Counſellor, rather than a Soldier, made him incapable of partaking with the Captain in the Glory of the Execution; for *Renault*, he only told him that the Captain was the Confident of Duke *d' Oſſuna*, from whom he never hid

any thing, and deſir'd that he would condeſcend as much to the Humour of this Pirate as was neceſſary for the main Deſign, and ſhew him that Reſpect which would gain the Heart of a Man bold and preſumptuous to the laſt degree. The Marquis *de Bedemar* having taken ſo much Pains to make theſe two Men agree well together, was extreamly amaz'd, the firſt time they met at his Houſe, to ſee them embrace each other with all the Tenderneſs imaginable, the Moment they ſaw one another. There are no Minds ſo ſtrong as not to make ſome unreaſonable Judgment at firſt of Things, which very much ſurprize them; the Ambaſſador immediately thought he was betray'd; as he had all along believ'd that theſe two Men knew not each other, he could not comprehend for what reaſon they had kept their Acquaintance a Secret to him; but this Myſtery was ſoon clear'd up, and he found that they had ſeen one another at a famous *Greek* Woman's Houſe, who was a Perſon of extraordinary Merit for a Courtizan. There needed no other Proof of the Secreſy with which they had kept their Names, as he deſir'd, and it was the more to be admir'd, ſince they had conceiv'd a very particular Eſteem for each other. The Ambaſſador being recover'd of his Surprize, was raviſh'd to find that Union

Union already made, which he ſo much deſir'd to bring about; they confeſs'd in the Converſation that follow'd, that each of them had particularly deſign'd to engage the other in the Enterprize. As both of them were full of their Project, in the Diſcourſes they had together at this *Greek*'s Houſe, they fell ſeveral times upon Matters of this nature, in ſpeaking of the Times, the Government, and the War, this was without diſcovering any thing, or the Deſign of doing it, but they confeſs'd to the Ambaſſador, that in the Heat of their Arguments they had gone too far, and given too much Light into their Sentiments to each other; the Ambaſſador deſir'd them to profit by that Reflection, and be more circumſpect for the future; he ſaid, it was not only neceſſary in keeping great Deſigns ſecret, not to ſay or do any thing that immediately related to them, but even to forget at ſome times that one is concern'd in them. *Renault* in the following Part of the Converſation told them, that ſince the Rumour there had been ſpread of Peace, the *Venetian* Officers had us'd the ſtrange Troops very ill, and that they being no longer reſtrain'd by the Authority of Count *Naſſau*, who was juſt dead, had behav'd themſelves not at all well before *Gradiſca*; that the General of the Republick fearing

they would do worſe, had ſeparated them into ſeveral Poſts, as far aſunder from one another as they could chuſe; that this Precaution having made publick the Diſtruſt he had of their Fidelity, they had mutiny'd, and having inſolently refus'd to execute ſome Orders of the Senate, the General thought it was his Duty to put to Death the principal Men concern'd in the Sedition; that he had confin'd the Chiefs to *Padua*, and diſtributed the reſt in ſeveral Parts of *Lombardy*, till they could pay them, and the Execution of the Treaty allow'd them to be disbanded. *Renault* added, that the Lieutenant of Count *Naſſau*, who was one of the principal Men with whom he negociated, had been remov'd to *Breſcia*, where he had form'd a Plot, by which he was ready to put that City into the Hands of *Don Pedro*, and that it was neceſſary to reſolve upon this particular Deſign before any other, becauſe the Lieutenant preſs'd by his Letters to have a deciſive Anſwer; the Ambaſſador told him they ought not to ſtir on that ſide till they were Maſters of *Venice*, that then there was occaſion but for one Place in *Lombardy*, and they were already aſſur'd of *Crema*, and that this new Enterprize would only divide their Forces; however it was proper to keep up the Minds of thoſe they had gain'd in their good Diſpoſi-

tion,

tion, but always to defer the Execution upon ſome Pretence or other. *Renault* ſaid, beſides this Lieutenant, he had negociated with three *French* Gentlemen, nam'd *Durand* (Serjeant-major of *Lieveſtein*'s Regiment) *Brinville* and *Bribe*, with a *Savoyard*, call'd *Ternon*, who had been formerly at the ſtorming of *Geneva*, a *Dutch* Man nam'd *Theodore*, *Robert Revellido* an *Italian* Engineer, and two other *Italians*, who had been employ'd in the Arſenal, one call'd *Lewis de Villa-Mezzana* Captain of Light-Horſe, the other *William Retroſi*, Lieutenant to Captain *Honorat* in *Palma*; that he had thought it neceſſary to open himſelf entirely to theſe Nine Perſons, but he had choſen them ſo well, that he would anſwer with his Life for their Fidelity; that during his Stay in the Camp he had gain'd more than 200 Officers, but he had only told them, as the Ambaſſador order'd, that they were to go to *Venice*, to deliver his Excellency out of the Hands of the Mob of that City, when there ſhould be occaſion; that ſince his return having wrote to know the exact Number of Men they might be aſſur'd of, and deſiring they would ſay nothing but what might perfectly be made out, they ſent him word he might reckon upon 2000 Men at leaſt of *Lieveſtein*'s Troops, and 2300 of *Naſſau*'s, and that all the Officers were

were ready to put themſelves into his Hands to make good what they had promis'd; that in the beginning of this Negociation they had flatter'd the Soldiers with the Hopes of ſome Expedition, where they would conduct them when they were disbanded by the Republick, in which they ſhould be amply recompens'd for the ill Uſage they had undergone; that it was not to be fear'd that the Singularity of the Enterprize would ſhock them when it ſhould be declar'd, for they were ſo much incens'd againſt the Senate on account of the bad Treatment they had met with from it, that was there no other reaſon he would anſwer for them, there was not any thing but they would undertake to revenge themſelves; that nevertheleſs for the greater Security, the Secret needed not to be told them till things were ſo well diſpos'd, and ſo far advanc'd, that the Succeſs was not to be doubted; and that in the Reſolution they had to give them *Venice* to pillage, there would not be one that would heſitate upon enriching himſelf, in a manner ſo ready and ſo certain, and getting wherewithal to live the reſt of his Days in Eaſe and Opulency.

From the firſt Thoughts the Marquis *de Bedemar* had of his Enterprize, he reſolv'd not to engage himſelf in it, till he had more Means than there was an abſolute occaſion for

for to make it ſucceed, and that they ſhould be ſo much independant upon one another, that if one happen'd to fail it might not make the reſt leſs ſerviceable; with this View he did not neglect to take Meaſures with Duke *d' Oſſuna* to get Troops, altho' he reckon'd upon thoſe *Don Pedro* had promis'd him, and upon what *Renault* had treated for with the *Dutch* Chiefs; he negociated with each of theſe three Parties, as if he had no Aſſurance from the other two, and as if he had been carrying on three different Enterprizes at once.

It was time now to know preciſely in what Time Duke *d' Oſſuna* could ſend the Men to *Venice* that they demanded of him, but as he was a Man whoſe Word only was not enough to depend upon in an Affair of ſo much Difficulty and Importance, he thought it was proper to ſend a Perſon capable of judging upon the Place, if there was a Proſpect of his doing all he promis'd. The Captain could not be abſent from *Venice* without being taken notice of, and it was indiſpenſably neceſſary that *Renault* ſhould be there too, therefore he look'd upon *Bribe*, one of the *French* Gentlemen, with whom *Renault* had negociated at *Friuli*, to be the fitteſt Perſon to take this Journey; but he having receiv'd a Commiſſion from the Republick to raiſe Soldiers, at the time he

he was preparing for it, they thought it convenient for him to go about his Levies, and one nam'd *Laurence Nolot*, a Comrade of the Captain's, went in his ſtead the firſt Day of the Year 1618.

The Marquis *de Bedemar* believ'd it was now high time to open himſelf to the Council of *Spain*, he therefore ſent them his Project at length, with every Circumſtance of it, and becauſe he knew the Tedioufneſs of the Deliberations of that Court, he proteſted by a particular Diſpatch to the Duke of *Lerma*, that he muſt have a ſpeedy and deciſive Anſwer, and that the Danger he was in oblig'd him to expreſs himſelf in that poſitive manner, and that if they detain'd his Courier longer than a Week, he ſhould interpret the Retardment for an Order to abandon it; he had an Anſwer in the Time he deſired, but it was not altogether ſo concluſive as he would have had it; they ſaid, if it was a Diſadvantage to defer it, they muſt paſs it by, otherwiſe they earneſtly deſired an ample and faithful Deſcription of the State of the Republick; the Ambaſſador, who was prepar'd upon this Subject, was not long in dreſſing up ſo fine a Relation, that the *Spaniards* call'd it a Maſterpiece in Politicks; it was not eaſy to know for what Deſign it was done, but thoſe who knew it, found there was not a Word in it but

but anſwer'd to the Deſign; he began in a very elegant manner, complaining of the Difficulty of the Work, becauſe of the impenetrable Secrets of the Government he was to repreſent to them; he praiſed this Government, but his Panegyrick was upon the firſt Age of the Republick, and not the preſent State of it; this led him with a great deal of Eloquence into a Common-Place on the deplorable Condition of all Human Things, in that the moſt excellent are the moſt ſubject to Corruption; that ſo the wiſeſt Laws of this State, by the Abuſe of them, have been the firſt Cauſes of its preſent Deformity; that, that of theſe Laws which excluded the People from the Knowledge of State Affairs, had given occaſion to the Tyranny of the Nobles; and that, that which ſubmitted the Eccleſiaſtical Power to the Cenſure of the Sovereign Magiſtrate, had been the Foundation of that Licenſe the People of *Venice* took with the Court of *Rome* ſince its Quarrel with the Republick; he exaggerated this Matter by the Impieties, it was ſaid, the *Dutch* had committed with Impunity in *Friuli*; he complain'd particularly that they had bury'd a great Lord of their Country, nam'd *Renaud de Brederode*, in the Church of the *Servites* of *Venice*, altho' he was a *Calviniſt*, and tax'd *Fra-Paolo* very gravely in this Ar-

ticle, without naming him, as the Perſon who inſpir'd the Senate with this Hardineſs; he admir'd how the People, who were not reſtrain'd by their Obedience to any Prince, could, when their Religion was violated in ſo many Points before their Eyes, endure thoſe heavy Burthens they laid upon them; he repreſented what theſe Burthens were in a very particular manner, and did not aggravate any thing to make them appear inſupportable; he ſhew'd, that the Honour and the Lives of the People were as much in the Power of the Nobles as their Fortunes, and the Genius of the Nation carrying them to Avarice, Revenge, and Luſt, it was no Wonder if thoſe that obey'd ſuch a Government were oppreſs'd by it: He examin'd at laſt the State of the Senate, he took notice of the Diviſions, and did not ſcruple to tell how many of the Nobles he knew that were Malecontents: He deſcrib'd the Deſolation of the Provinces by the cruel War the *Uſcoques* had made in ſome, and by the Weakneſs of others, which were forc'd to ſuccour them; he ſaid there were not three Officers paid in any Garriſon in *Lombardy*, and that the Republick would never be able to preſerve its Authority, but for want of ſome Body that would undertake to wreſt it from them. As for the Armies, he made a faithful recital of

of the Seditions that had been in that of the Land, and of the Mutineers that were diſpers'd in ſo great Numbers, that the reſt could be look'd upon only as a confus'd Heap of poor Militia, without Courage, Experience, or Diſcipline. That for their Navy, it was become the Azylum of all the moſt infamous Pirates of the *Mediterranean*, People unworthy the Name of Soldiers, and of whoſe Service the Republick could be no longer aſſur'd, than they were not powerful enough to turn its own Arms againſt it. After having writ all theſe things in a wonderful Beauty of Stile, and great Force of Expreſſion, he examin'd what Judgment might be drawn from them of the future State of the Republick, its Fortune and Duration, and ſhew'd by the Conſequences that follow'd, and the Acts it had eſtabliſh'd, that it was in its Decay, that its Diſeaſe was paſs'd the *Criſis*, and therefore there was no way to mend the preſent Conſtitution, but by changing the Form of it entirely. Upon this Relation the Council of *Spain* gave the Marquis *de Bedemar* Leave to act as he pleaſed, without giving any Orders; but *Nolot* not returning, it put a Stop to all, and the Ambaſſador could not forgive himſelf for the Fault he had committed, in expoſing himſelf in an Affair of this nature to the Caprice of Duke *d'Oſſu-*

na. Nothing is more fatal than Delays, when Things are brought to Perfection. After the *Spaniards* had taken *Verſel*, *Gradiſca* was extreamly preſs'd by the *Venetians*, and the Council of *Spain* had no other way to ſave it, but by renewing the Propoſitions of Peace. There was a Writing drawn up at *Madrid*, that contain'd all the principal Articles, but the continual Diſorders of Duke *d' Oſſuna* oblig'd the *Venetians* to recall the Power they had given their Ambaſſador, and to tranſport the Negociation to *France*, where the Death of Marſhal *d' Ancre* had made them hope for more Favour. The Peace was concluded at *Paris* the Sixth of *September*, and the Governor of *Milan* confer'd ſome Time after with the Count of *Bethune*, to regulate the Execution in regard to the Duke of *Savoy*, but at the ſame time this Governour continu'd to moleſt the *Venetians*, and even took ſome ſmall Places from them in *Lombardy*; they complain'd of this every where, and prepar'd for War more than ever, till the Marquis *de Bedemar* made them the Compliments of Peace in full Senate, and promis'd the Execution of all Things agreed to; he did not this ſo much becauſe he had Orders for it from *Spain*, as becauſe he was willing to efface the ill Impreſſions the Senate had receiv'd of him for ſome Things paſs'd; with

with this View he acquitted himſelf of that Duty with all the Warmth and all the Demonſtrations of Joy and Friendſhip imaginable, and the *Venetians*, who believ'd more than he promis'd, ſuffer'd themſelves to be ſo much blinded by him, that they agreed to a Suſpenſion of Arms; this Suſpenſion was of great Service to the *Spaniards*, and a Maſter-piece of Policy in their Ambaſſador; *Gradiſca* was ſo hard preſs'd, that it could not hold out above a Fortnight longer, and the Hoſtilities were not to have ceas'd in leſs than two Months, becauſe that Time was thought ſufficient to make ready the Ratifications, and diſpoſe every thing for the Execution of the Treaties; it was their Buſineſs to keep this Place from yielding before that Time, if poſſible; the Suſpenſion put it out of all Danger, and the *Spaniards* having no longer that reaſon to preſs for the Execution of the Treaties, were now at liberty to draw them to what Length they thought convenient for their own Deſigns. The Duke *d' Oſſuna*, forc'd by Orders from *Madrid*, and at the Inſtance of the Pope, offer'd ſome Time after to reſtore the Ships he had taken, but for their Goods, he ſaid he knew not what was become of them, notwithſtanding they had been ſold at *Naples* before the Face of the *Venetian* Reſident; and he ſent again a powerful

Fleet

Fleet to cruize in the *Adriatick*. The Senate complaining of this to the Marquis *de Bedemar*, he was himſelf as ready to complain as they; he declar'd he could not anſwer for the Behaviour of Duke *d' Oſſuna*, and that even their Maſter the King himſelf was not able to do it; and ſaid, among the many Favours he had receiv'd during his Embaſſy at *Venice*, the greateſt Uneaſineſs he had had, was to know that the Conduct of this Vice-Roy was imputed to his Advice; he aſſur'd them he never had any hand in it; that any one who knew but little of that Duke, might eaſily believe he took no other Guide than his own capricious Humour; and that for his Part, they might judge of his Diſpoſition by the peaceable Proceedings of the Governor of *Milan*, of which he thought it an Honour to have been the Author; it was true this Governor obſerv'd the Suſpenſion exactly, but he always continu'd Arm'd, and thought it proper at laſt to embroil afreſh with the Duke of *Savoy*, upon Pretence that the Troops disbanded by that Prince were ſtopt in the Country of *Vaux*, waiting for the entire Execution of the Treaties. *Don Pedro* refus'd the Count *de Bethune* to diſarm, as he had promis'd at *Pavia*, and he oblig'd the Duke of *Mantua* to refuſe alſo what depended upon him. The Count *de*

Bethune

Bethune proteſted againſt them in a publick Writing upon his retiring after theſe Denials, and it was anſwer'd in the moſt plauſible manner that could be invented by the Marquis *de Bedemar*.

It's eaſy to judge by theſe things of what Importance it was to haſten the Execution of the Enterprize, ſince it was ſo difficult to keep Things in the Condition they ought to be to hope for Succeſs. In the mean time Duke *d' Oſſuna* did not ſend away *Nolot*, and the Ambaſſador, who was vex'd at it, having ſent to this Man to diſcover the reaſon of it, whatever it coſt him, was inform'd at laſt what it was. Some Time after the Captain had been receiv'd into the Service of the Republick, the Duke, who would be inſtructed ſeveral Ways of the State of *Venice*, ſent an *Italian* nam'd *Alexander Spinoſa* to be a Spy upon all things; this Man, who was not known, had an Employment given him preſently, as all the Adventurers had that came to ask for them; he believ'd the Duke was contriving ſome important Enterprize, but did not ſuſpect that the Pirate was to be the chief Manager of it, nevertheleſs he thought he was not ſo ill with the Duke as moſt People imagin'd. When *Spinoſa* was come to *Venice*, he offer'd the Vice-Roy to ſtab the Captain, but the Duke had rejected this Pro-

Propoſal, upon Pretence it would be dangerous to execute. *Spinoſa*, who had Wit enough, and knew the Duke, thought if he had no ſtronger Reaſon than this, he would not have paus'd upon revenging himſelf at the Expence of one Man's Life; the Duke nevertheleſs charg'd him to obſerve the Motions of the Pirate, perhaps to prevent *Spinoſa* from ſuſpecting the Truth, or it may be the Vice-Roy was of that ſort of Men who never confide entirely in any one Perſon, and would have been glad to ſee if what *Spinoſa* writ would agree with what the Captain writ himſelf. The better to acquit himſelf of his Commiſſion, *Spinoſa* aſſociated with ſome *French* Men that he had known at *Naples*, and who were very much with the Captain at *Venice*. Thoſe who were of the Conſpiracy gave an exact Account to the Captain of the Enquiry *Spinoſa* made into his Conduct, and they diſcover'd that this Spy was hatching ſome Plot of his own, and endeavouring to gain Men for the Service of Duke *d' Oſſuna*. The Captain was very much diſpleas'd that the Duke had not an entire Confidence in him, but he was not ſurpriz'd at it, he only conſider'd if *Spinoſa* continu'd to cabal, without their underſtanding one another, he would weaken their Party, by dividing it, and yet he could not think of going to open himſelf

himſelf to a Man who had Orders to be a Spy upon him. The Marquis *de Bedemar* and *Renault* both thought they had no Time to loſe in remedying this Inconvenience, and after having conſider'd well what were the Means to do it, they agreed there was no other Surety but to deſtroy *Spinoſa*; he was a Man would ſell his Life at a dear Price if he was aſſaſſinated, the Employment he had oblig'd him to be always upon his Guard, and the Captain was at laſt reduc'd to accuſe him to the Council of Ten, as the Spy of Duke *d' Oſſuna*, after having attempted every other way in vain to diſpatch him; the *French* Men with whom he was acquainted were Witneſſes againſt him, and they ſpoke with ſuch Judgment, and made things ſo plain, that he was taken and ſtrangled in ſecret the ſame Day; all that he could ſay againſt the Pirate made no manner of Impreſſion upon the Minds of his Judges, becauſe it was againſt his Accuſer, and he was not able to prove any thing he did ſay. This Affair augmented very much the Confidence they had in the Captain at *Venice*, but it was a great Trouble to the Marquis *de Bedemar*, becauſe it gave a particular Caution to the *Venetians* to obſerve the Conduct of all Strangers in their Service. The Duke *d' Oſſuna* had juſt heard of the Death of *Spinoſa* as *Nolot* arri-

ved at *Naples*, he preſently gueſs'd who was the Author of it, and took it very ill that the Marquis *de Bedemar* had not ſent to him about it; and the ſeveral Suſpicions he had in his Mind upon this Accident, made him not able to reſolve on any thing. In the mean while the Troops of *Lieveſtein* having mutiny'd again, were brought by Order of the Senate to *Lazaretto*, two Miles from *Venice*; the Marquis *de Bedemar* was afraid they would agree with the Republick for their Pay, and be oblig'd to depart, but he ſo order'd it with the Chiefs, that they were not contented with the Sum offer'd them at firſt. To make good Uſe of the Neighbourhood of theſe Troops, which was ſo favourable to the Deſigns of the Conſpirators, they directed *Nolot*, by an expreſs Courier, to repreſent to the Vice-Roy, that for a Month to come they ſhould have 5000 Men always at their Devotion: *Nolot* forgot nothing of his Duty, but the Vice-Roy, who had not yet digeſted his Choler, amus'd him ſo long, that after Six Weeks Expectation, the Chiefs fearing their Soldiers, who ſuffer'd very much, would treat without them, did it themſelves, by the Conſent of the Conſpirators, who thought they could not prevent it. Ten Days after *Nolot* arriv'd from *Naples* with the Reſolution of Duke *d' Oſſuna*, ſuch as they deſir'd, but it was

was addreſs'd to *Robert Brulard*, one of the Captain's Comrades. The Ambaſſador and the Captain, who thought only which was the beſt way to get out of this Affair, diſdain'd ſo much as to take notice of the Affront the Vice-Roy deſign'd them by this Addreſs; he wrote word that he was ready to ſend, when they requir'd it, the Barks, Brigantines, and other little Veſſels, for the Ports and Canals of *Venice*, and ſuch a Number of them as ſhould carry 6000 Men, if there was occaſion: *Nolot* ſaw the Barks and Troops ready to depart, and the Captain had the Ports and Canals fathom'd, by which they muſt come to land at the Place of St. *Mark*; as he had many Seamen at his Devotion, becauſe of his Command, who were not ſuſpected in going out or coming into the Ports or Canals as they had a mind to, it was eaſy for him to have all the Dimenſions with great Exactneſs; there wanted nothing but to hinder the Troops of *Lieveſtein* from being ſent away, they ſpar'd no Money in it, and the Rigour of the Seaſon was a good Pretence for their Stay, the beſt Part of them was ſtill at *Lazaretto*, and thoſe who were embark'd at the Arrival of *Nolot*, ſtopt in ſome Places not much farther.

To relieve *Renault* and the Captain in the Buſineſs they were charg'd with, and

which they were not able to ſupport of themſelves, there was occaſion for about 18 Men of Courage and Senſe, who might be entirely confided in; they made up this Number of the Nine Perſons with whom *Renault* had negociated in *Friuli*, and of the principal of thoſe whom the Pirate had brought from *Naples* with him; there were five Captains of Veſſels, *Vincent Robert*, *Laurence Nolot*, and *Robert Brulard*, ſpoke of before, another *Brulard* nam'd *Laurence*, and one call'd *Anthony Jaffier*; beſides theſe there were two Brothers, *Charles* and *John Boileau*, and an *Italian* nam'd *John Rizardo* (all three excellent Petardeers) and one *L'Anglade* a *French* Man, who was reckon'd the greateſt Artiſt that ever was in making Fire-works; the Capacity of this Man was ſo well known, that he had Leave to work at his Trade in the Arſenal, by which means the three Petardeers his Companions had at any time free Egreſs thither, as well as *Villa-Mezzana* and *Retroſi*, who were of thoſe that *Renault* had gain'd, and who had formerly had Employments there, theſe Six Men together made ſo exact a Plan of it, that thoſe who had never been there might underſtand the Place as well as thoſe that made it; they were very much aſſiſted in this Work by 2 Officers of the Arſenal, whom the Captain had got over; they

ſeem'd

ſeem'd to him to be diſcontented with their Employment, and furniſh'd with Qualities fit for his Deſign, capable of coming into it, if it were for their Intereſt, and to be Men that would obſerve faithfully what they ſhould promiſe. The Succeſs anſwer'd to the Judgment he made of them; he ſeaſon'd the Praiſes he gave them on all Occaſions with a conſiderable Number of *Spaniſh* Piſtoles, which he had to diſtribute, till they engag'd themſelves blindly to perform whatever he commanded. *L'Anglade* and they Lodg'd in the Arſenal. *Renault* had taken three of his Friends with him to the Houſe of the *French* Ambaſſador, which were *Bribe*, *Brinville*, and *Laurence Brulard*; the three Petardeers liv'd with the Marquis *de Bedemar*, who furniſh'd them with Powder, and all other neceſſary Materials to work at their Buſineſs, but without having any Communication with them; they had already made more Petards and Fire-works than there was occaſion for, and the Ambaſſador's Houſe was ſo full of them, that there was no more room to Lodge any Body. The Captain liv'd at his uſual Lodging, but alone, that he might give no Suſpicion, if he ſhould be obſerv'd; and for the reſt, he plac'd them at the Houſe of the Courtizan, where *Renault* and he were firſt acquainted. The Friendſhip and Eſteem that had ſuc-

ſucceeded the Love they had for this Woman, but above all the Knowledge they had of her good Underſtanding, made them think they could not chuſe a better Place; ſhe was of a *Greek* Iſland in the *Archipelago*, and of a Condition as noble as any in a Country under the Government of *Venice* that was not a *Venetian*. The Perſon who Commanded there for the Republick having debauch'd her, by giving her great Hopes, afterwards aſſaſſinated her Father, becauſe he would have oblig'd the *Venetian* to perform what he promis'd; the Girl was come to *Venice* to demand Juſtice for the Murder, but to no purpoſe; and this Proſecution having conſum'd the little Money ſhe had, her Beauty was to retrieve the Misfortunes it had firſt brought upon her. There is no Reſentment ſo violent as that of a Woman well born, reduc'd to an Employment beneath her. She was raviſh'd to hear of the Project of the two Friends, and would have riſqu'd all Things to favour it. She hir'd one of the greateſt Houſes at *Venice*, and under Colour of making ſome Agreement, brought thither but one Part of her Goods, that ſhe might have a Pretence to keep both Houſes, which were not very far aſunder; it was in theſe two Houſes that for almoſt Six Months there liv'd Eleven of the principal Conſpirators.

As

As ſhe was viſited by almoſt all the Gentlemen in *Venice*, both Strangers and *Venetians*, it was not eaſy to conceal thoſe who lodg'd with her, while there came ſo great a Concourſe of People to her, therefore ſhe pretended to be out of order, that ſhe might be free from them; thoſe who know with what Civility Women of this Profeſſion are treated in *Italy*, will eaſily comprehend that her Houſe was impenetrable to all but thoſe who had Buſineſs there. The Conſpirators went out but by Night, till all things were free for them to act, and then the Aſſemblies were held in rhe Day-time; in theſe Aſſemblies *Renault* and the Captain propoſed thoſe things which had been conſulted of at the Marquis *de Bedemar*'s, to have the Concurrence of the Company, and to reſolve with them on the Manner of putting them in Execution. When they were obliged to go to the Houſe of the Marquis, they us'd all the Circumſpection that was requiſite, in a Time and a Country where the Houſes of Ambaſſadors were watch'd as if they were Enemies, and his in particular. They had reſolv'd together for ſome Time paſt, that it was neceſſary to have 1000 Soldiers in *Venice* before the Execution, but as it was dangerous to have them all come Arm'd, the Marquis *de Bedemar* had provided Arms for no more than 500; it was not

not difficult for him to do this, becauſe they never ſearch the *Gondolas* of Ambaſſadors from what Place ſoever they come; and there wanted nothing but an Opportunity to bring theſe 1000 Men into *Venice* without being obſerv'd. The Doge *Donato* dying, *Anthony Priuli* was put in his Place, who was at *Friuli* to get the Treaties executed. The General of the Sea had Orders to fetch him with his Naval Forces, the Great Chancellor and the Secretaries of State were to go meet him a great way off with the Ducal Cap, Twelve of the principal Senators were to go with them, as Ambaſſadors from the Republick, each of them in a Brigantine by himſelf, arm'd and magnificently adorn'd, with a moſt ſplendid Train; the Senate it ſelf was to go in a Body far upon the Sea, to receive him in the *Bucentaur*, and bring him to the City with all his Retinue. As it very rarely has happen'd that thoſe who were made Doges have been out of *Venice* at the time, this Ceremony drew together an infinite Number of curious People. The Marquis *de Bedemar*, who foreſaw it, as ſoon as he was aſſur'd of the Election of *Priuli*, diſpatch'd *Nolot* a ſecond time to *Naples*, with Orders to ſee the Brigantines of Duke *d' Oſſuna* depart with all the Diligence that was poſſible. To take away all Cauſe of Delay, the Captain

tain was to ſend to that Duke the exacteſt Plan of the Execution that could be, and above all a relation of what had happen'd at *Venice* ſince *Nolot*'s firſt Journey. The Pirate would not ſeem to have any reaſon to complain of him, but finiſh'd his Diſpatch in theſe Words: "I muſt blame the Negli-
" gence of *Nolot* in making ſo long a Stay
" at *Naples*, for I do not doubt but if he had
" repreſented Things as he ought to have
" done, your Excellency would have ſent
" him away ſooner; he muſt certainly
" have ask'd for Money, or ſomething like
" it, but he had Orders to the contrary, and
" I can undertake at this time to keep *Venice*
" Six Months in my Power in Expectation
" of your Excellency's great Fleet, provided
" you will ſend the Brigantines and the
" 6000 Men you offer'd as ſoon as *Nolot* is
" arriv'd with this. In the mean while *Renault* brought all the Officers of the Troops he had gain'd, to take a Survey of the City, and obſerve the Poſts aſſign'd them, that they might not be to ſeek in the Night of the Execution. Before they came they choſe 1000 Men out of all the *Dutch* Troops, to be ready to march the next Day, and that the Abſence of theſe Men might be the leſs taken notice of, they took care to chuſe them equally out of every Place

of the *Terra Firma* where they were diſpers'd; that they might be the better able to receive ſuch a Number of Men, each Officer took as many Lodgings as was poſſible without giving Suſpicion, they told the Hoſts they were for Strangers that came to ſee the Show, and for the Officers themſelves they lodg'd among the Courtizans, where paying a good Price, they were in greater Security than any of the reſt; there was nothing to be done farther, but to regulate the Order for the Execution; the Marquis *de Bedemar*, *Renault* and the Captain together, agreed on this that follows. " As ſoon as it is Night thoſe of the Thou-
" ſand Soldiers that come without Arms,
" ſhall go and Arm themſelves at the Am-
" baſſador's, 500 of them ſhall be with the
" Captain at the Place of St. *Mark*, the beſt
" Part of the other 500 ſhall join *Renault*
" near the Arſenal, and the reſt ſhall ſeize
" upon all Barks, *Gondola*'s, and other the
" like Carriages, at the *Rialto*, with which
" they ſhall fetch about a Thouſand more
" Soldiers of *Lieveſtein*'s Troops that are at
" *Lazaretto*; during this Voyage they ſhall
" carry themſelves as peaceably as poſſible,
" that they may not be oblig'd to declare
" themſelves till thoſe Troops are arriv'd;
" but if they are oblig'd to it, and ſome-
" thing ſhould happen to diſcover them,
" the

" the Captain ſhall fortify himſelf in the
" Place of St. *Mark*, *Renault* ſhall ſeize up-
" on the Arſenal in the manner that ſhall
" be repreſented, they ſhall then fire two
" Canons, to be a Signal to the Brigantines
" of Duke *d' Oſſuna*, which will be ready
" to enter *Venice*, and the *Spaniards* they
" ſhall bring, will ſupply the want of the
" *Walloons* that they were going to fetch;
" if they are not oblig'd to declare them-
" ſelves in this Voyage, when the *Walloons*
" ſhall diſembark at the Place of St. *Mark*,
" the Captain ſhall take 500 Men, with
" the other 500 he already has, and the
" Serjeant-Major *Durand* to command 'em;
" they ſhall range theſe 1000 Men in Bat-
" talia in the Place, afterwards the Captain
" ſhall take 200 Men and make himſelf
" Maſter of the Ducal Palace, and the Ar-
" mory that is there, to furniſh thoſe of his
" own Men who may have occaſion, and
" to hinder the Enemy from making uſe
" of them; 100 others under *Bribe* ſhall
" take Poſſeſſion of the *Serque*, another 100
" with *Brinville* of the *Procurale*, by the
" help of ſome who are to get into the
" Belfry in the Day-time, this laſt 100
" ſhall ſtay there during the Execution, to
" prevent the ſounding of the *Tocſin*; they
" ſhall poſt Guards at the End of every
" Street that leads to the Place of St. *Mark*,

" and plant Cannon on the ſides of them;
" in every Place they ſeize on, and put
" Guards, they ſhall ſtab all they find, and
" during theſe different Executions the Ser-
" jeant-Major ſhall ſtay near the Place
" with the reſt of the Troops in Battalia;
" all theſe things ſhall be done with the
" leaſt Noiſe that's poſſible, till they ſhall
" begin to declare themſelves, by forcing
" the Gates of the Arſenal; at this Noiſe
" the Eight Conſpirators, who drew the
" Plan of it, and who ſhall be within, ſhall
" ſet fire to the four Corners of it, with the
" Fire-works prepar'd for that Purpoſe at
" the Ambaſſador's, as well as with the
" Petards, and ſtab all the principal Com-
" manders; it will be eaſy to do this in the
" Confuſion that the Fire and the Sound of
" the Petards will make; they ſhall after-
" wards join with *Renault* when he comes
" in, and make an End together of killing
" all, and the Soldiers ſhall carry the Ar-
" tillery to every Place where it is proper
" to be put, as at *Arena de Mari*, at *Fontego*
" *de Tedeſchi*, to the Magazine of Salt, up-
" on the Belfry of the *Procurale*, upon the
" Bridge of *Rialto*, and other eminent
" Poſts, from whence they may batter the
" City to pieces in caſe of Reſiſtance; at
" the time that *Renault* ſhall be ſtorming
" the Arſenal, the Captain ſhall force the

" Priſon

" Priſon of St. *Mark*, and Arm the Priſo-
" ners; they ſhall kill the principal Sena-
" tors; and the Men plac'd there for that
" purpoſe, ſhall ſet fire to 40 Places in the
" City at the ſame time, the fartheſt aſun-
" der that's poſſible, that ſo the Confuſion
" may be the greater, while the *Spaniards*,
" from Duke *d' Oſſuna* having had the Sig-
" nal (which ſhall be given as ſoon as the
" Arſenal is taken) ſhall diſembark at the
" Place of St. *Mark*, and ſpread themſelves
" in all the chief Quarters of the City, un-
" der the Conduct of Nine other of the
" principal Conſpirators, they ſhall cry no-
" thing but LIBERTY, LIBERTY, and after
" all things are executed, they ſhall be per-
" mitted to pillage, but not upon Stran-
" gers, from whom they ſhall take nothing
" upon Pain of Death, nor uſe any Violence
" but againſt thoſe who reſiſt.

Nolot found all Things in ſo good Condition at his Arrival at *Naples*, that the 6000 Men put to Sea the next Day under the Command of an *Engliſh* Man nam'd *Eliot*. To give the leſs Suſpicion, the Duke *d' Oſſuna* made them take a large Tour about with their great Veſſels, but ſent *Eliot* with the Brigantines by the ſhorteſt Way. This little Fleet met the ſecond Day with ſome Pirates of *Barbary*, who attacked it. As it was prepared only to

tranſport

Tranſport the Men, and not for Battle, it was very much incommoded by the Artillery of the *Barbarians*, whoſe Brigantines were better Armed, and more ſerviceable. But altho' the Men who were in thoſe of *Naples*, had not time enough to defend themſelves in Order, yet as they were all choſen *Spaniards*, they treated thoſe of the Enemy that they could grapple with ſo handſomely with their Swords, that the Pirates would perhaps have repented ſtopping them in their Way, if they had not been both diſperſed by a violent Tempeſt, that ſeparated them in the very Heat of the Action. The Fleet was ſo much damaged that it could not put to Sea again in ſome time, and the Marquis *de Bedemar* ſeeing by this News that he could not diſturb the Ceremony that was preparing at *Venice*, aſſiſted at it with greater Magnificence than any Body there. He proteſted in a full Senate, in making his Compliments to the new *Doge*, that the particular Joy he had ſhewn for his Elevation, came from the Hope he had that his Serenity would preſerve upon the Throne the favourable Diſpoſition that he had ſo lately teſtified at *Friuli* for the Accompliſhment of the Peace. When he left this Audience, he ſent for *Renault* and the Captain; he immediately asked them if they thought it proper to abandon all, they anſwered,

ſwered, they were of the contrary Opinion, that their Friends had appeared more ſhaken at the Misfortune of the Fleet, than they would have been if it had come ſafe into Port, and that they were ready to take all neceſſary Meaſures to keep things in the Poſture they were till a happier Time ſhould come. The Ambaſſador, who did not ask this Queſtion without trembling, was raviſhed with Joy at the Anſwer. He told them with a Gayety and Spirit that would have encouraged the weakeſt Hearts, and inſpire the moſt Timerous with Intrepidity, that the great Turns which ſurprize the Mind in common Affairs, are natural alſo to extraordinary Enterprizes, that they are the greateſt Proofs of the Strength of the Soul, that then only we are to think our ſelves fit for great Deſigns, when we bear a Diſappointment with Conſtancy and Courage. In ſhort, it was agreed between the Marquis and his two Confidents, that they would put off the Execution till the Feaſt of the Aſcenſion, which would not be long, and which is the greateſt Solemnity the *Venetians* have: That till the Time came they would maintain the Troops in the Places they were, and furniſh them with every thing they could want, that no Money ſhould be ſpared to

the

the Chiefs upon their Account; that they would keep the Principals of the three Hundred that were ſent to *Venice*; and that the Subalterns ſhould be ſent to the Troops, as well to keep the Soldiers to their Duty, as to take off the Suſpicion that ſuch a Number of Men might cauſe in the City: That they would employ thoſe they kept the moſt agreeably that was poſſible, that they might not be weary of ſtaying, nor have Leiſure to reflect upon the preſent State of Affairs; that the Twenty principal Conſpirators ſhould carefully obſerve their Conduct; and that to oblige the *Republick* to ſuffer the Retardment of *Lieveſtein's* Troops, and not to Disband thoſe of *Naſſau*, the Governor of *Milan*, and the Vice-Roy of *Naples* ſhould not execute the Treaties. All the Pretences that the Mind of Man could make plauſible were invented by the Marquiſs *de Bedemar*, and put in Practice by *Don Pedro*, and Duke *d'Oſſuna*. In the interim they were forced every day to make ſome Steps towards the Peace, the Council of *Spain* was afraid to hazard any thing upon the Hopes of Succeſs in an Affair ſo doubtful as that of the Conſpiracy, and *France*, who would ſupport the Treaty of *Paris*, obliged the *Venetians* to conſent that the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould Disband the Troops that were ſtopt in *Vaux*, which ſerved for a Pretence for the Delay

Delay of *Don Pedro*. This Difficulty being raiſed, the Marquis *de Bedemar* thinking to prevent that Prince from giving up the Places he had taken in the *Montferrat*, cauſed a Rumour to be ſpread, that as ſoon as the Duke of *Mantua* ſhould be Eſtabliſhed there, he would yield that Country to the *Spaniards*, at the ſame time *Don Pedro* quarrelled without Reaſon with a Miniſter of *Savoy*, who was come to *Milan* with the Ambaſſadors of *France*, and comm n-ded him to depart, the Duke enrag'd at this Injury, called him home, and ceas'd to evacuate the Places he held; but the Ambaſſadors ſhewing him he was falling into the Snare that *Don Pedro* had laid for him, he reſtored on a ſudden all that he had taken. *Don Pedro* was ſo much aſtoniſhed at this News, that he could not forbear ſhewing it in Publick by his Diſcourſes, he was alſo to give up the Priſoners, and every Place, to the very leaſt; but for *Verſel*, which was the important Point, he made Difficulties of it ſo ſtrange, that he was threatned to be recalled by *Spain* before the uſual time. At firſt he ſaid, it would be Diſgraceful for him to give up a Place while the *French* Ambaſſadors were at *Milan*, and look as if he was forced to it by their Preſence; when they were retired, he pretended that the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould give up

ſome Lands belonging to the Miniſters of *Mantua*; but ſtill *Verſel* was kept, as before: At laſt *France*, who was concluding a Marriage between Madam *Chriſtina* the King's Siſter, and the Prince of *Piemont*, having explained it ſelf in a very deciſive manner upon this Subject, *Don Pedro* began to ſend away the Ammunition and Artillery that was there, but with a moſt incredible Sloth. The Marquiſs *de Bedemar* ſending to him to retard it ſtill more, he thought the beſt Way was to endeavour to extort freſh Aſſurances from the Duke of *Savoy*, in Favour of *Mantua*, but the Miniſters of *Mantua* themſelves, tired with Delays, declared in a publick Writing, that they did not inſiſt upon any ſuch Aſſurances. Whatever Chagreen this Declaration gave to the Marquis *de Bedemar*, the Behaviour of Duke *d'Oſſuna* gave him much more. This Duke, wearied out by the Complaints the *Venetians* made in every Place, upon his continuing to trouble the Navigation of the Gulph, not knowing any more what to ſay in his own Defence, anſwered them, that he would do ſo as long as the *Venetians* entertained the moſt irreconcileable Enemies of the King his Maſter in their Service. 'Tis eaſy to judge, by the Care the Ambaſſador had taken to detain theſe *Dutch* Troops, (which were what the Duke

Duke *d'Oſſuna* complained of) how great his Deſpair was when he heard of this Anſwer from him. He did not doubt but that the Senate, who was for the Peace at any Rate, would cauſe them to depart, to take away all Excuſes from the Vice-Roy. But the Succeſs deceived a ſecond time the Marquiſs *de Bedemar*'s Prudence; ſome Dæmon favourable to the Deſigns of Duke *d'Oſſuna*, made the *Venetians* take a Reſolution directly contrary to their Inclinations and Intereſts. It was ſaid in the Senate, that the Republick had ſhewn too great a Deſire for Peace; that it was that which made the Miniſters of *Spain* raiſe ſo many Difficulties in the Execution of it; that if they ſhould ſatisfy the Vice-Roy upon his Complaint, he would believe himſelf able to give Laws to *Venice*; and that ſo far from Disbanding the *Dutch*, they ought to keep the Troops of *Lieveſtein*, (which were to have gone immediately) till the entire Execution of the Treaties. The Joy this Reſolution gave the Marquis *de Bedemar* was leſſen'd by the Diſcovery that was made of their Plot upon *Crema*, the *Italian* Captain, and the other that they had gained there having quarrelled, the former was mortally wounded, and to diſcharge his Conſcience before he dyed, he declared all the *Veneti-*

an Commander there. The other who miſtruſted what would happen as ſoon as he had wounded the Captain, ſaved himſelf with thoſe of his Companions whom he could give notice to the reſt were taken, and the *French* Lieutenant with them, who was the principal Perſon in the Undertaking. But as *Renault* had not made himſelf known to them, but as the Agent of *Milan*, and as they knew not what was become of him afterwards, this whole Affair fell upon *Don Pedro* only. A Week after the Sergeant Major, who was to have given up *Marau*, having Retrenched ſome Perquiſites of the Proveditore's *Valet de Chamber*, and a Penſioner to the Republick's, to make a Profit by them to himſelf, theſe People enraged at it, took an Opportunity, when he was out of the way to enter his Houſe, break open his Cheſts, and carry off his Money and Papers, among which they found ſome Letters that mention'd the Deſign; as he knew only the Perſon whom Duke *d' Oſſuna* had ſent to Negociate with him, he could only accuſe this Duke, but he acted a nobler Part; anſwering every Day in the midſt of Tortures, that he knew very well they never would be able to find them out, tho' he ſhould diſcover them, and he would leave his Accomplices (if he had any) in a Condition to Revenge his Death,

Death, rather than they ſhould periſh with him without gaining any Advantage by it. The *Venetians* gave p ublick Thanks to God for theſe two Diſcoveries; the Enterprize became much more aſſured than ever; the Senate thought they had now found out the hidden Cauſe of the *Spainiards* irregular Proceedings, and ſeeing theſe two Affairs fruſtrated, imagined they were in a profound Repoſe, and did not doubt any longer of the Accompliſhment of the Treaties. Mean while the Time of the Execution was come. From the *Sunday* before the Aſcenſion till *Whitſuntide* there is one of the moſt celebrated Fairs in the World at *Venice*. The great Concourſe of People it brings thither makes it not leſs eaſy to ſurpriſe the City, but gives an Opportunity to a Thouſand Soldiers to go in and lodge there without being regarded. It was no hard matter for them to leave the *Venetian* Towns where they were quartered, and for fear the going away of ſo many at a time ſhould ſurprize People, the greateſt part of them ſaid they were going to the Fair at *Venice*, they diſguiſed themſelves like Men of every Profeſſion, they obſerved to put thoſe together who ſpoke different Languages, that they might not give ſo much Suſpicion as a great Number of

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one Nation at the ſame Place would do, and they ſeemed not at all to be acquainted with one another. The Five Hundred *Spaniards* ſet apart to execute the Deſign upon *Crema* which was diſcover'd, were ſent at the ſame time by *Don Pedro* round about *Breſcia*, to ſeize that City upon the firſt Notice they ſhould have of the Succeſs of the Conſpiracy, and to favour the Faction which the Lieutenant of Count *Naſſau* had raiſed, and which was ſtill on foot. The Perſon who commanded theſe *Spaniards* was charged to bring them ſtreight to *Venice* upon the firſt Orders he ſhould receive from *Renault*. As to the *Venetian* Fleet it was retired to *Dalmatia*, but in a Condition to put to Sea with very little Warning, becauſe of the continual Alarms from Duke *d'Oſſuna*. The Captain ſent the Officers who commanded his twelve Ships in his Abſence, ſome of the ſtrongeſt Fire-works they had to ſpread ſecretly in all the other Veſſels of the Fleet in the time of the Execution. As no body diſtruſted theſe Officers, it was eaſy for them to do it without being perceived or ſuſpected. He wrote to them to meaſure the Matches ſo exactly that all might take Fire at the ſame time, if poſſible, that they ſhould attack any Veſſel that eſcaped it: and make themſelves Maſters of it; or that they ſhould ſink it with their Cannon-

Cannon-ſhot; that they ſhould come afterwards, without looſing a Moment's Time, to *Venice*; and that they ſhould diſpoſe themſelves to execute every thing, but wait nevertheleſs for a new Order before they began. The Day reſolved upon was the *Sunday* before the Aſcenſion, which is the firſt of the Fair. The Duke *d' Oſſuna* had ſo good a Convoy for his little Fleet this time that it arrived without any Accident within ſix Miles of *Venice*, it was divided into two Parts, which went at a ſmall Diſtance from one another, that they might be the leſs obſerved. The biggeſt was compoſed of Barks, like thoſe of the Fiſhers, and the other of Brigantines, like Pirateers. The *Saturday* Morning *Eliot* was ſent to, to depart the next Day to his Poſt, that he might be within ſight of *Venice* by the Cloſe of the Day, he was ordered to ſet up the Standard of St. *Mark*; to ſeize upon ſome little Iſlands which had no Defence, and from whence he might come to *Venice* without being perceived; next to preſent himſelf boldly before the two Caſtles of *Lido* and *Malamoco*, becauſe it was known there were no Garriſons in them; to advance within Cannot-ſhot of *Venice*; and to give Notice when he was there, that by the Return of the Bark that ſhould bring

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the News, the Captain might ſend him ſome Sailors to be his Guides, that he might not fall foul of the Banks, with which the *Marias* that encompaſſes *Venice* is full, or ſplit againſt the Rocks which make the Entry in the Ports impracticable to thoſe who are not uſed to them. As it was neceſſary to diſpoſe every thing next Day for the Execution, which was to be at Night, *Renault* and the Captain judged it proper to conſult with their Companions over Night for the laſt time, and the Captain left it to *Renault* to repreſent to them the State of Affairs, and give them proper Inſtructions. The three *French-men* that lodged with *Renault*, the Lieutenant of Count *Naſſau*, the three *Petardeers*, *L'Anglade*, the two Officers in the *Arſenal*, the Captain, and the Lieutenant who had been formerly employ'd there, *Nolot*, the two *Brulards*, *Jaffier*, *Robert*, *Theodore* the *Dutch-man*, the *Savoyard* who had been at the Storming of *Geneva*, and *Revellido* the Engineer. Theſe twenty Perſons being all ſhut up at the *Greek Courtizan's* with *Renault* and the Captain, in the moſt ſecret part of the Houſe, after all uſual Precautions in Affairs of this nature, *Renault* ſpoke to them: He began with a full Narration of the Condition all things were in at the preſent, of the Forces of the *Republick* and their own; of

of the Diſpoſiton of the City and the Fleet; the Preparations of *Don Pedro*, and Duke *d'Oſſuna*; of the Arms, and other Warlike Proviſions that were at the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's; the good Intelligence he had in the Senate, and among the Nobles; in fine the exact Knowledge they had of every thing that was neceſſary to be known, After having gained the Approbation of his Auditors by the recital of theſe things, of which they all knew the Truth, and which were the Effects of their own Care as well as his; "Behold my Companions, con-
"tinued he, what are the deſtin'd Means
"to lead you to that Glory which you
"ſeek; every one of you is able to judge if
"they are ſufficient, and to be relyed up-
"on: It is in our Power to bring ten
"Thouſand Soldiers into a City that has
"not two Hundred to oppoſe us; the
"Plunder of which will join to us all the
"Strangers that Curioſity or Buſineſs has
"brought hither, and the common Peo-
"ple themſelves will aſſiſt us to deſpoil the
"Great Ones who have oppreſſed them ſo
"often, as ſoon as they ſee they may do it
"with Safety: The beſt Ships in the
"Fleet are of our ſide, and the other carry
"with them from this time, what will re-
"duce them to Cinders; The *Arſenal*, the

" Wonder of all *Europe*, and the Terror of
" *Aſia* is almoſt already in our Power; The
" Nine valiant Men who are here preſent,
" and have been in a Readineſs to ſeize up-
" on it for almoſt ſix Months, have taken
" their Meaſures ſo well during this Delay,
" that they would think they ran no Ha-
" zard if their Heads were to anſwer for
" the Certainty of making themſelves Ma-
" ſters of it: Altho' we had not the
" Troops of *Lazaretto*, nor thoſe of the
" *Terra Firma*, nor the little Fleet of *Eliot*
" to ſupport us, nor the Twenty *Venetian*
" Ships of our Comrade, nor the Duke
" *d' Oſſuna*'s great Veſſels, nor the *Spaniſh*
" Army in *Lombardy*, we ſhould be ſtrong
" enough with our Intelligence, and the
" Thouſand Soldiers that we have; never-
" theleſs all theſe different Succours which
" I have ſpoken of are diſpoſed in ſuch a
" manner, that each of them might fail
" without doing the leaſt Prejudice to the
" others; they may help, but cannot hurt
" one another; it is almoſt impoſſible but
" that they ſhould all ſucceed, and yet one
" alone is ſufficient for our Deſigns. If af-
" ter taking all the Precautions that human
" Prudence could ſuggeſt, one would make
" any Judgment of the Succeſs Fortune de-
" ſigns to give us, what Mark can we have
" of her Favour, but would be below what

" we

" we have already had? Yes, my Friends!
" She has worked Miracles for us; it is not
" to be read of in Hiſtory that any part of
" an Enterprize of this Nature has been
" diſcovered without ruining the whole,
" and ours has got clear of five Accidents,
" the leaſt of which, according to all hu-
" man appearance was enough to have o-
" verturn'd it: Who could have believed
" otherwiſe than that the Loſs of *Spinoſa*,
" who worked upon the ſame Deſign with
" our ſelves would have occaſion'd the ſame
" to us all? That the Disbanding *Lieu-*
" *ſtein*'s Troops who were all Devoted to
" us would have divulged what we kept
" ſecret? That the diſperſing the little
" Fleet would have broke all our Meaſures,
" and proved a fruitful Source of new In-
" conveniencies? That the Diſcovery at
" *Crema*, and that of *Marau*, would ne-
" ceſſarily have drawn the Diſcovery of the
" whole Party after them? Nevertheleſs
" theſe things have had no ill Conſequen-
" ces; ſince they have not followed the
" Track that would have led them to us,
" nor profited by the Light they have had;
" never did ſo profound a Repoſe follow ſo
" great a Buſtle! The Senate is in a moſt
" perfect Security; our good Genius has
" has blinded the moſt clear ſighted of them

" all, given Courage to the moſt time-
" rous, laid aſleep the moſt Suſpicious,
" and confounded the moſt Subtle; we
" live ſtill, my dear Friends, and with
" more Power than we had before theſe
" Diſaſters, they have ſerved only to make
" Proof of our Conſtancy. We live, and
" our Lives will in a very ſhort time be
" fatal to the Tyrants of this Place. A
" Happineſs ſo extraordinary may be na-
" tural, but have we not Reaſon to pre-
" ſume that it has been the Work of ſome
" Power above us? And indeed, my
" my Friends, what is there upon Earth
" worthy the Protection of Heaven, if
" what we are about is not ſo? We are
" going to deſtroy the moſt horrible Go-
" vernment in the World, we ſhall reſtore
" thoſe Benefits to the poor Subjects of this
" State, which without us, the Avarice of
" the Nobles would have for ever kept
" from them. We are to ſave the Honour
" of Women, who are, or ſhall be born
" with Charms enough to pleaſe them, we
" ſhall recal to Life an infinite number of
" Wretches, whom their Cruelty is ready
" to Sacrifice to their leaſt Reſentments up-
" on the moſt trifling Occaſions; in a word,
" we are to puniſh the moſt culpable of all
" Men, black with Vices, which Nature
" abhors, and cannot ſuffer but with
" Shame.

" Shame. Let us not fear then to take
" the Sword in one Hand, and the Torch
" in the other to extirpate theſe Monſters;
" when you ſhall ſee this Palace where Im-
" piety is on the Throne, burning with
" Fire, a Fire rather from Heaven than
" from us; theſe Tribunals ſtain'd ſo ma-
" ny times with Tears of Innocence, con-
" ſuming in devouring Flames; the furi-
" ous Soldier drawing forth his reeking
" Hands from the Breaſts of wicked Men,
" Death wandring up and down in every
" Street; and every Spectacle of Horror
" that the Night and raging War can
" form, let us remember then, my deareſt
" Friends, that there is nothing perfect in
" this World, that the moſt laudable Acti-
" ons are ſubject to the greateſt Inconveni-
" encies, and that at laſt, inſtead of the
" many Evils that aggrieve this unhappy
" Land, the Diſorders of to morrow Night
" are the only Means to reſtore Peace, Ju-
" ſtice and Liberty to it for ever. This
Diſcourſe was received by all the Aſſembly with that Complaiſance which Men uſually have for Sentiments conformable to their own. All the while *Renault* remarking their Countenances, obſerv'd that *Jaffier*, one of the Captain's beſt Friends, from a moſt profound Attention fell into a Diſorder that he endeavoured in vain to conceal,

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and there remained ſtill in his Eyes an Air of Aſtoniſhment and Sorrow, which expreſs'd a Soul ſeiz'd with Horror. *Renault* told it to the Captain, who made a Jeſt of it at firſt, but having obſerv'd *Jaffier* for ſome time, he was almoſt of the ſame Opinion. *Renault*, who knew perfectly well the Face is the Index of the Mind, and how much one diſcovers the ſecret Motions of the other, when it is under any violent Agitations, having examined deliberately the Countenance of *Jaffier*, believ'd he ought to declare to the Captain that he did not think him a Man to be truſted. The Captain, knowing *Jaffier* to be one of the Valianteſt Men breathing, accuſed his Judgment of too much Raſhneſs and Precipitancy; but *Renault* reſolving to juſtify his Suſpicion, ſhewed him the Reaſons he had, as well as the Conſequences of it ſo plainly, that if the Captain was not ſo ſenſible of them as himſelf, he was convinced, at leaſt, that *Jaffier* was to be obſerved. He repreſented however to *Renault*, that if *Jaffier* ſhould be ſhaken, which he could not perſwade himſelf to believe, there was not time enough left, between that and the next Night, for him to deliberate upon it, and come to a Reſolution of Betraying them; but be it as it would in the forward-

wardneſs things were, it was too late to think of taking any new Meaſures; and they were oblig'd to run all Hazards. *Renault* replied, there was one way to make all ſure, and that was by Stabbing *Jaffier* themſelves that Night. The Captain ſtood ſome time Mute upon this Propoſition; but at laſt he anſwered, he could not reſolve to kill his beſt Friend upon a Suſpicion only, that beſides it might have very bad Conſequences; for he ſaid, he feared it would incenſe their Companions againſt them, and that they ſhould become Odious to them, and be thought to affect an Authority over them to diſpoſe Arbitrarily of their Lives, as they thought fit. That they could not hope to make them underſtand the Neceſſity there was of deſtroying *Jaffier*, tho' they did ſo themſelves, and that their not underſtanding it would make every one of the Conſpirators believe his Life was to be Sacrificed, when any ſuch like Imaginations ſhould come into their Heads; that when the Mind is much moved a very ſmall matter would biaſs it; and that the leaſt Alteration made at ſuch a time muſt be of great Importance; becauſe they could take no other than violent Reſolutions; that if they ſhould endeavour to conceal the Manner in which *Jaffier* diſappeared, it was to be feared they would not believe

believe it, and whatever Pretence they made uſe of his Abſence the Night before his Execution, in which he was to have ſo great a Share, could not but intimidate them, and fill them with melancholly Thoughts. *Renault* heard this Diſcourſe of the Captain's very attentatively when one of their People came into the Room where they were, with an Order of the Senate, which he had juſt receiv'd, for every body that had any Employment in the Fleet, to Embark the next Morning. He brought at the ſame time a Letter from the Ambaſſador that diſcovered the Reaſon of this Order. The Duke *d' Oſſuna* was not able to come away from *Naples* ſo ſecretly to joyn his great Veſſels, but that the Spies of the *Republick* had Intelligence of it, but as he had left Orders that they ſhould furniſh out no ſort of Carriages to *Venice* till a certain time, and ſtop all Letters directed thither, the *Venetians* had not receiv'd before this Day the News of his Departure. The Arch-Duke, newly Elected King of *Bohemia*, had asked Succours of him againſt the Rebbels of that Country, who began to make ſome Diſturbances, and the Vice-Roy boaſting he would bring Succours by the *Gulph* to the Arch-Duke's Ports in *Iſtria*, the *Venetians* had deſired that Prince himſelf to take another

another Way, but as he obſerv'd not the Rules which govern other Men, when they knewhe was come out, theyd id not queſtion but that it was to conduct the Succours as he had threatned. They would not diſpute the Paſſage with him as they might have done, becauſe they had no mind to make a Breach with him, but choſe to ſend their Fleet to the Coaſts of *Iſtria*, where he was to Land his Troops, to obſerve him, and keep him from making any Attempts upon their Maritime Places.

The ſtrongeſt Reſolutions of Men commonly come from the lively Imaginations they have of Dangers they are going to run. By the help of this Imagination the Soul becomes at length familiar with the Circumſtances of the Danger, how frightful ſoever they may be; but all the Strength of this Reſolution depends ſo much upon theſe Circumſtances, that if it comes to paſs that one of them ſhould alter upon the Point of Execution, it's a great Chance but the Reſolution does ſo too. It was this that *Renault* and the Captain feared would happen to their Companions upon the Occaſion of the unexpected Embarkation of the *Venetian* Fleet, which they had juſt been inform'd of, and this News gave them a ſenſible Chagreen, becauſe they thought at firſt that it would oblige them to change ſome-

thing in the Manner they had diſpos'd the Execution of their Enterprize. This Execution could not be out of Hand, becauſe the Night was already too far advanc'd; and it muſt be Day before they could give Notice to the little Fleet of *Elliot* to come up within Cannon-ſhot of the City, where it was to be at the Beginning; and before they could fetch the Troops from *Lazaretto*. The next Day the *Venetians* were to put to Sea, and if *Elliot* had come up he muſt infallibly have met thoſe who would be all that Day repairing to the Fleet of *Venice*. The Steps therefore they were taking were the moſt favourable that could be to the Conſpirators, for they were going to turn their Backs upon *Elliot*, and all things conſider'd, they judg'd it moſt proper for him not to advance till they had got at ſome Diſtance from him.

The Difficulty was to reſolve, if the Captain, *L'Anglade*, the three *Petardeers*, and the reſt of the Conſpirators who had Poſts in the Fleet ſhould obey the Order of Senate. It ſeemed indiſpenſably neceſſary for them to be at *Venice* for the Execution, above all the Captain, and yet he was the Perſon that could leaſt help leaving it; the conſiderable Command he had in the Fleet made him more obſerv'd than all the o-

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thers together; as moſt of their Employments were in his Veſſels, he could anſwer for any Defect in them by his Authority, if he was preſent himſelf, and hinder the Abſence from being taken notice of. Theſe Reaſons made them conclude he ſhould depart with *L'Anglade* alone, whoſe Employment in the Fleet depended upon the General immediately, as well as that of the three *Petardeers*, but for them it was better to run any Hazard than part with them. The General asked the Captain after them as ſoon as he ſaw him, the Captain anſwer'd, he believ'd they were conceal'd among the Curtizans at *Venice*, as well as ſome Officers of his Veſſels which he could not find, and the Expedition with which he was oblig'd to come away, had not given him time to diſcover them. The General was ſo preſs'd to depart by the Senate, and ſo buſy, for that Reaſon that he was not able to ſend to ſeek after them in ſome Days, and leſs able to ſtay till they were found. The Captain before he went away deſir'd *Jaffier* in particular to place himſelf near *Renault* in the Night of the Execution. He extoll'd his Courage and Conduct, and ſaid, without being ſatisfi'd in him, he could never have reſolved to go away, but that he thought himſelf ſtill with his Companions while he left *Jaffier* among them. Du-

ring this Diſcourſe the Captain obſerv'd him with Attention; but this Man being overcome with Tenderneſs by the Teſtimonies he gave him of his Eſteem, anſwer'd with ſuch Marks of Zeal, Fidelity and Gratitude as would have ſatisfy'd the moſt Suſpicious. It was the laſt Effort of his Dying Reſolution; which diſappear'd with the Face of his Friend, and not having longer before his Eyes the only Man, the Conſideration of whom might have reſtrained him, he gave himſelf up entirely to his Incertitude.

Renault's Deſcription of the Execution at the end of his Speech, had ſtruck him in ſuch a manner that he could not ſuppreſs his Pity. His Imagination went beyond that Deſcription, and repreſented to his Mind exactly, and in the livelieſt Colours all the Cruelties and Injuſtice of it. From that Moment he heard on every ſide nothing but the Cries of Infants trodden under Feet, the Groans of old Men Butcher'd, and Women's Shrieks that were to be diſhonour'd; he ſaw nothing but Palaces on fire, Temples falling, holy Places ſtained with Blood, *Venice* the Sorrowful! the deplorable *Venice*! appear'd before his Eyes, not as formerly triumphing over the Fortunes of the *Turks*, and the Inſolence of *Spain*, but in Aſhes, or

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in Chains, and wet more by the Blood of its Inhabitants than the Waters that ſurround it. This frightful Image poſſeſs'd him Night and Day, ſollicited him, preſs'd him, ſhook him; he ſtrove in vain to chaſe it from him, more obſtinate than all the Furies, it filled his Mind in the midſt of Banquetting and Revels, diſturb'd his Reſt, and took up all his Thoughts. But to betray his Friends! and what Friends? Bold, intrepid, skilful Men, ſingular in Merit, in which each one excell'd a different Way. It would be the Work of many Ages to joyn together a ſecond time ſo great a Number of extraordinary Men. Juſt upon the Point of making themſelves memorable to lateſt Poſterity, ought he to ſnatch from them (when it was ready to be gather'd) the Fruit of the greateſt Reſolution ever form'd by the Mind of Man? ought they to periſh by Torments the moſt exquiſite that Tyranny could e'er invent? Who does not know there is a ſort of Priſon at *Venice* more capable of Saking the Conſtancy of a Man of Courage, than all the Torments of any other Country whatſoever? Theſe laſt Reflections which attack'd *Jaffier* on his weak ſide, confirm'd him in his firſt Sentiments, Pity for his Friends more than ballanc'd that which the Deſolation of *Venice* excited

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in him, and he continued in this Incertitude to the very Day of the Execution, which was the *Aſcenſion-day*. News came from the Captain in the Morning that he would anſwer for the Fleet, and that he was going round *Marau*, he deſir'd that the ſame time that the Troops of *Lieveſtein* were ſent for, they would ſend a Bark to give him Advice of it, and ſaid, he would ſtay for this Advice before he began to Act on his ſide. They ſent *Eliot* the Guides they had promis'd him, they convey'd the Men appointed into the *Belfry* of the Procurale of St. *Mark*, who grew ſo familiar with the Perſons that were there to look after it, that they found Means to lay them aſleep by the help of ſome Drugs which they mixt with their Liquor and their Meat, and oblig'd them to Eat and Drink to great Exceſs, upon account of its being a Day of Publick Rejoycing. The Order was ſent to thoſe Officers who were choſen to ſeize upon the Houſes of the Senators, the moſt to be fear'd, and to kill them. Every one was ſhewn the Houſe he was to Attack, the Principal Conſpirators, and other Officers the Poſts they were to take, the Men they were to have, where to carry them, and the Watch-word to know one another by, Intelligence was ſent to the Troops at

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Lazaretto, to the *Spaniards* in the little Fleet, and the Thouſand *Dutch* who were already in *Venice*, in what manner they were to go to the Place of St. *Mark*. Some Men that could not be ſuſpected were ſent to review the *Foiſt*, of the Council of Ten, and they found the Artillery in good Condition, and fit for Service.

Jaffier had the Curioſity to ſee the *Doge* Wed the *Adriatick*, becauſe it was the laſt time he thought he ever could ſee it. His Compaſſion redoubled at the ſight of the Publick Rejoycings, the preſent Tranquility of the unhappy *Venetians* touch'd him more ſtrongly with a Senſe of their approaching Deſolation, and he became more irreſolute than ever. But Heaven would not after all abandon the Work of Twelve Ages, and ſo many wiſe Heads to the Fury of a Courtier, and a Company of indigent Men. The good Genius of the *Republick* ſuggeſted an Expedient to *Jaffier*, by which he might ſave *Venice* and his Friends together: He found out *Bartholemi Comino*, Secretary to the Council of Ten, and told him he had ſomething that very much concern'd the Safety of the State to relate to the *Doge* and Council, but that they muſt promiſe him firſt one Favour, and engage themſelves by the ſtrongeſt Oath to keep

keep their Promiſe, that this Favour was the Lives of two and twenty Perſons he ſhould name, let their Crimes be what they would; he ſaid it would be impoſſible to draw the Secret from him by Tortures, without granting his Requeſt; for there were none terrible enough to get one Word from him upon any other Account. The Ten Aſſembled themſelves in a Moment, they were contented to agree to what *Jaffier* demanded, who being fully ſatisfy'd with the Promiſe of the *Doge* and Council, diſcover'd the whole Conſpiracy. The thing ſeem'd ſo horrible, and ſo ſurprizing that they could not believe it. But as it was eaſie to be ſatisfy'd of ſome one Particulars, they ſent *Comino* to the Procurale. He reported that he found all the Guards Drunk, or a Sleep. They ſent afterwards to the *Arſenal*, it was a good while before they could get in, but at laſt a *Valet* frightened by their Threats, ſhewed them a little Wicket, which they broke open, having knocked ſome time to no purpoſe; they found there the three *Petardeers* finiſhing the Fire-works for the Execution, they asked the Reaſon of their working on ſo great a Holiday, and why they would not let them in at firſt when they knocked? they anſwer'd with much Ingenuity, that they were

were the next Day to go joyn the Fleet, that the General had ſent to them to bring with them a great Number of Fire-woks ready for Service; that not finding People enough to make what was demanded, they had deſir'd the Perſons they ſaw there to help them; that the thing being of ſuch Conſequence, they thought they might be diſpens'd with for not obſerving the Holiday, but that to do it without giving Scandal, they had ſhut themſelves up in the moſt private Place they could find in the *Arſenal*. Altho' *Comino* could not reply to what they ſaid, he ſecured them as Priſoners. The Council more and more terrify'd, ſent afterwards to the *Greek* Curtizans, but found no body there. The Men who had laid the Guards a ſleep at the *Procurale*, pretended only to be ſo themſelves, when they ſaw *Comino* coming in, but he was no ſooner gone, than they ran to the *Greek*'s to give the Alarm, by which Means *Nolot*, *Robert*, *Revellido*, *Retroſi*, *Villa-Mezzana*, *Durand*, *Ternon*, and *Robert Brulard*, who were there altogether by Chance, got an Opportunity of going Aboard one of the Barks that was kept at the Bridge of the *Rialto*, to fetch the Troops from *Lazaretto*, and eſcap'd luckily out of *Venice*. The Concern they had that the reſt might not do

the ſame, made them reſolve to ſearch the Houſes of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors. They ask'd civilly to come into them upon an Affair that touch'd the Safety of the *Republick*. The Ambaſſador of *France* made no Reſiſtance, and *Renault* was taken and carry'd away with *Laurence Brulard*, and *Bribe*; but the *Spaniard* refus'd them Entrance, ſtanding upon the Priviledges of his Character, and proteſting with Fury againſt the Violence they offer'd him, when he ſaw they would come in by Force. They found in his Houſe wherewithal to Arm above five hundred Men, ſixty Petards, and an incredible Quantity of Powder, Fire-works, and the like; they made an exact Inventory of them, and he aſſiſted himſelf, making a Jeſt of them all the while. At the ſame time that they brought this Inventory to the Council of Ten, a Nobleman of the Houſe of *Valiera* came in with *Brinville* and *Theodore*, two of the principal Conſpirators. They had juſt heard that all was diſcover'd, and deſpairing to ſave themſelves any other way, becauſe they knew all the Ports were ſhut ſince thoſe Perſons eſcap'd from the *Greeks*, they pretended they would diſcover the Conſpiracy, and therefore found out this Nobleman who knew them in

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Flanders, to carry them to the Council of Ten, where they were preſently ſecur'd. In the mean while they ſearch'd the Taverns, Inns, Lodging Houſes, Stews, and every Place where Strangers might conceal themſelves, they took up all the Officers they could meet with, either *Dutch*, *French*, *Spaniſh*, *Wallöons*, *Neapolitans*, or *Milaneſe*, to the Number of 400, while theſe things paſſed, two *Dauphinois* arriv'd from *Orange*, Booted an Spur'd, juſt as they had flung themſelves into the Bark that brought them upon quitting their Poſts. They declar'd to the Council, that ſome *French-men* who were their Friends, having Wrote to them from *Venice*, that if they would Enrich themſelves, they need only come thither; for there was a Conſpiracy ready to be put in Execution to ſeize upon the City, and give it to be Pillag'd; they therefore came with all the Diligence they could, not to take part in the Plunder; but to diſcover the Treaſonable Deſign. They were thank'd, Lodg'd handſomely, and deſir'd to ſtay till the Senate ſhould conſider of a Recompence fit for them.

When the Day came that the Senate Aſſembl'd themſelves, the Marquis *de Bedemar* demanded an Audience, which they

granted, more out Curioſity, than any thing elſe. The Noiſe of the Conſpiracy was ſpread all over the City, and produc'd an unſpeakable Confuſion. The People who knew, tho' but imperfectly, that the *Spaniards* were the Authors of it, gather'd about the Houſe of the Ambaſſador to break it open, and were juſt ready to ſet it on Fire when thoſe came who were to conduct him to his Audience. They let the People know their Commiſſion, who flattering themſelves with Hopes that the Senate would Puniſh him in an exemplary Manner, let him go, but follow'd him all the way with Curſes and Imprecations. The Ambaſſador as ſoon as he came into the Senate, complain'd of the Violence they had committed in his Houſe, contrary to the Law of Nations, and accompanied his Complaints with Menaces, ſo fierce and terrible of Revenging himſelf, that the greateſt part of the Senators were in a Conſternation, and feared he had ſtill ſome Stratagem to bring about his Enterprize, that they knew nothing of. The *Doge* anſwer'd him, that they would make an Excuſe for the Outrage, when he ſhould give them a Reaſon for having thoſe Preparations of War which were found in his Houſe, and ſaid, that as an Ambaſſador he ought

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to be a Miniſter of Peace. He reply'd, that he was aſtoniſh'd to ſee Men who were eſteem'd Wiſe, ſo weak as to inſult him to his Face upon a Pretence ſo groſs; that they knew as well as he that thoſe Proviſions were only depoſited in his Houſe, as there had been the like ſeveral times before, till they were ſent to *Naples* and *Tyrol*; that for the Arms, all the World knew there were none ſo good as what were made in the Towns belonging to the *Republick*, and as for the Fire-works, he ſaid, that the Occaſion he had for ſome Workmen of extraordinary Capacities that Way, who came to offer themſelves to him, it had oblig'd him to make Tryal of them to ſatisfy his Curioſity. The *Doge*, interrupting him, ſaid, that theſe Work-men were Wretches of rather Monſters, born to be the Eternal Shame of Mankind; and in ſaying theſe Words he preſented the Ambaſſador with a Letter of Credit to the Governor of *Milan*, which they had found among *Renault*'s Papers, with other Letters from Duke *d' Oſſuna*. The Ambaſſador anſwer'd, that for Duke *d' Oſſuna* he had already declar'd he could not anſwer for his Conduct; that for the Letter of Credit, it was true the *French* Ambaſſador had recommended a Gentleman to him ſome time

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ſince, who wanting ſome Favour at *Milan* upon a particular Affair, he had given him that Letter, but that he was ignorant that the *Republick* had any Intereſt in that Affair. The *Doge* ſeeing by theſe Anſwers that the Ambaſſador would not confeſs any thing, contented himſelf to repreſent to him the Blackneſs his Deſign, and made an End, proteſting that they were all very far from thinking that the King his Maſter had the leaſt Part in it. The Ambaſſador anſwer'd to the Remonſtrance with all the Heat and Fury of an Honeſt Man, when his Honour is unjuſtly attack'd; he ſaid he was of a Nation to which Prudence and Valour were ſo natural, that they had no occaſion to fly to evil Artifices to overcome their Enemies; that the King his Maſter was powerful enough to deſtroy them by open Force, without making uſe of Treaſon and Treachery to do it, and that they might perhaps be very ſoon convinc'd of it. After theſe Words he went briskly out of the *Senate* wihout any Ceremony; thoſe who conducted him thither deſir'd him to ſtay a little in an Apartment not far off till the Senate had given ſome neceſſary Orders to provide for his Safety, he let them lead him where they would, trembling with Rage and Anger, not anſwering one Word.

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In the mean whiie the People were flocked together to tear him to pieces, as ſoon as the Senate ſhould give him up, it was eaſy for thoſe they ſent to his Houſe to take care to ſee his Servants ſafely Embark'd with the moſt valuable of his Goods, and afterwards they convey'd him thro' ſome Byways to a Brigantine well Armed, and with a good Convoy. The People enrag'd at his Eſcape, made Figures repreſenting him and Duke *d' Oſſuna*, which they abus'd in the ſame manner they would have done their Perſons if they had them in their Power. At the ſame time Orders were ſent to the General at Sea to drown *l' Anglade*, Captain *Jacques Pierre*, and all the Officers of his Party that could be found among the Captain's Ships. As they ſuppos'd it was neceſſary to be upon their Guard, they choſe a Veſſel built after the moſt ſtrange and uncommon Faſhion they could find to carry theſe Orders; they equipp'd it in ſuch a manner, and took ſuch a Tour about, that it could not be gueſs'd from whence they came. The Captain who had waited all the Night in expectation of News from his Friends, ſeeing this Veſſel arrive he retir'd into the principal Ship, as if he ſuſpected ſomething, and would be upon his Guard if he was betray'd;

tray'd; but the General, who would looſe no time, ſent two Men choſe for the Purpoſe, who entring his Ship without Arms, and Accoſting him with an Air of Freedom, ſtab'd at the ſame Inſtant, and flung him over-board without being obſerv'd. *L'Anglade*, and Forty of his Officers were treated in the like manner, and with the ſame Secrecy. In the mean while *Renault* interrogated at *Venice*, anſwer'd, that he knew nothing of what they ask'd him, they ſhew'd him the Letter of Credit to *Don Pedro*, a Paſſport in *Spaniſh* for all the Countries Subject to *Spain*, Bills of Exchange for great Sums, and a Thouſand Piſtoles beſides. He anſwer'd that he knew neither the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, nor the Governor of *Milan*, that if there was any thing relating to them among his Papers, ſome body muſt have put them there unknown to him, and for the Bills of Exchange and Piſtoles, they were all the Fortune he had in the World. They propos'd ſeveral Queſtions to him, but he ſtill ſaid nothing more but that he was a poor old Man of ſome Quality and Honour, and that God would revenge him; they brought him ſeveral times after to Examination, and even promis'd to pardon him if he would diſcover what he knew, but all in vain, and after torturing him

him all manner of ways, he was ſtrangled in Priſon, and hang'd up by one Foot, as a Traytor. The Lieutenant of Count *Naſſau*, the three Petardeers, *Bribe*, *Laurence*, *Brulard*, and the two Officers of the Arſenal, after denying all with the ſame Conſtancy, ſuffered the ſame Execution; but *Brinville*, *Theodore*, and about 300 Officers, were only ſtrangled or drown'd ſecretly. *Jaffier* in the Interim, enrag'd at the ill Succeſs of his Compaſſion, complain'd that the Council of Ten had not kept the Promiſe they made him in favour of his Companions, but it was not broken but upon mature Deliberation; many of them would have had it religiouſly obſerv'd, others remonſtrated, that it might have been a Scruple, if they had not known of the Conſpiracy but by the means of *Jaffier*, but that as the two *Dauphinois* had revealed it alſo, it gave the Senate a Right of acting in the ſame manner as if *Jaffier* had not diſcover'd it at all; this Advice was follow'd, ſupported by the Horror the Publick had rais'd in them by their Guilt, altho' many things might have been ſaid againſt it. They endeavour'd to appeaſe *Jaffier* as much as poſſible, they offer'd him Money and Places, he refus'd all, and ſtill inſiſted, but in vain, to have the

Lives of his Companions ſecur'd, and afterwards retired from *Venice* inconſolable for their Misfortunes. The Senate hearing of it, ſent him an Order to quit the Territories of the Republick in three Days upon Pain of Death, and with it 4000 *Shequins*, which they forced him to take. The Grief he had for his Companions redoubled, every time he reflected that he was the Cauſe of their Ruin. He learn'd upon the Road that the Enterprize upon *Breſcia* was yet in a Condition to ſucceed; the Deſire he had to revenge himſelf upon the Senate, oblig'd him to go and fling himſelf into that Town, but it was ſcarcely done before the Council found out the bottom of that Affair, by ſome Papers of the Conſpirators, and ſent Troops thither, which ſeiz'd upon the principal Places, and put all the *Spaniards* they found there to the Sword; *Jaffier* was taken fighting at the Head of them, like a Man who ſought only to ſell his Life dearly, and being convey'd to *Venice*, he was drown'd there the Morrow after his Arrival. The Death of this unhappy Man put the laſt hand to the re eſtabliſhing the Tranquillity of this great City. The firſt Care of the Senate was to deſire another Ambaſſador from *Madrid*, *Don Lewis Bravo* was

was preſently nam'd for that Employment, with Orders to repair thither immediately, and the Marquis *de Bedemar*, according to Cuſtom, gave him an Inſtruction, which may be reduc'd to Two Points; the firſt was, that the new Ambaſſador ſhould blame, upon all Occaſions, the Conduct of his Predeceſſor, and that he ſhould affect to maintain one quite contrary, even in the moſt indifferent things. The other was, that in all Affairs he was to negociate relating to the Right and Pre-eminence of the Republick, he ſhould make uſe of the *Squittinio della liberta Veneta*, to which the Marquis *de Bedemar* referred in many Places of his Inſtructions in ſuch Terms, as diſcover'd his Paternal Affection for that Libel. They publiſh'd by Sound of Trumpet, and by Writing, in all the Dominions of the Republick, a Prohibition upon Pain of Death, againſt imputing this Conſpiracy in any ſort to the King of *Spain*, or the *Spaniards*, and gave 30000 Ducats to the Two *Dauphinois*, who came on purpoſe to diſcover it. *Don Pedro* ſeeing all Hopes were fruſtrated, made an end of disbanding his Troops, and reſtored *Verſel*. Duke *de Oſſuna* gave conſiderable Sums of Money

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to the Captain's Wife and Children, and ſet them at Liberty: And the Marquis *de Bedemar* receiv'd Orders from *Spain* to ſerve as firſt Miniſter in *Flanders*; and ſome Years after he receiv'd a Cardinal's Hat from the Pope.